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ABSTRACT

The potential relevance of sociology in the development of a teacher training program is examined. Investigation of the sociology area is effected through: (1) the deliberations of a Sociology consortium; (2) a condensed version of material abstracted in a literature search; (3) a conceptual mapping of the field accompanied by a brief listing of relevant facts; and (4) a summation that outlines the broad basis on which the teacher training program will be based. The first step in developing a program is to establish a rational basis for program planning, which should be followed by the drawing up of behavioral objectives. These would specify what experiences the trainees had to have, and what behavioral outcomes would be required. What the sociological perspective points up is the essential and essentially systemic nature of social interaction. For related documents, see ED 050 300 and ED 050 302-306. (CK)

ED 050 301

SOCIOLOGY AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

A FINAL REPORT

PART II

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by

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College of Education
University of Missouri
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PREFACE

This is the second of a series of reports concerned with the teaching of disadvantaged children. They are the direct outcome of the proposal funded as part of the U.S. Office of Education's T.T.T. Project. The initial proposal was presented under the names of Samuel R. Keys, Raymond S. Adams and William D. Hedges as co-project directors and Bob. G. Woods as Dean of the College of Education. Prior to the writing of the proposal, a planning committee after deliberating over general priorities agreed on the focus that should be adopted in the present undertaking. The committee comprised: Robert Wheeler, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Mo., William D. Hedges, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Clayton, Mo., and from the University of Missouri at Columbia, Samuel R. Keys, Associate Dean of the College of Education, Francis English, Dean of Arts and Science, Donald O. Cowgill, Professor of Sociology, Ralf C. Bedell, Professor of Education and Raymond S. Adams, Associate Professor of Social Research, Education and Sociology.

This present report confines its attention to the potential relevance of sociology in the development of a teacher training program. It represents only one section of the initial phase of what was planned, as a multi-phase project. In order to set the present report in perspective it is useful to outline the rationale that lies behind the whole scheme.

We started initially depressed and impressed by the facts that for the disadvantaged child, the consequences of disadvantage are a deprived and unhappy past, a drab and unpromising present and a future beset with hopelessness. We recognized that if education were to combat the deprivations of disadvantage, it would have to undergo substantial reform and improvement. However, whatever the nature of this reform and improvement might be, it would be of no use if the teachers of disadvantaged children remained incompetent to deal with their unique educational problem. For this reason, we felt that the most immediate task was to go about training teachers who could operate successfully with disadvantaged children--irrespective of the extent to which school systems had undergone organisational and economic reform themselves.

We were led by our emphasis on teaching to focus initially on the teacher-pupil transactions. In the most down-to-earth terms, the educational process requires the teacher to act as an intermediary between the child and the subject matter of the curriculum. As an intermediary, the teacher translates subject matter into forms appropriate for the level of conceptual development of the child. How efficient the teacher is then, depends on (a) her subject matter competency, (b) her ability to understand the child's conceptual state, and (c) her ability to mediate between the two. It has been clearly demonstrated (Coleman, 1968) that teachers have failed spectacularly as mediators for the disadvantaged child. Available evidence suggests that this failure stems not from ignorance of subject matter but rather from a lack of understanding of how the disadvantaged child thinks, how he feels and how he 'sees' the world around him.

While the 'problem' may be stated in relatively simple terms, solutions cannot be. What we have here, is an 'understanding-gap' that separates the teacher from the taught--the ghetto dweller from the mainstream of American life. And this is a culture gap--sometimes as wide if not wider than the gap between American culture and say Japanese. The illustration may be overly dramatic, but the ingredients are the same. The two cultures, ghetto and non-ghetto, are grossly ignorant of each others ways of life. Egocentrically and ethnocentrically, they perceive their own virtues and the other's vices. Seldom do they see their own vices and the other's virtues. Because the two cultures have long been separated, their respective inhabitants have seldom felt constrained to examine their intercultural relationships. Now with protest and discontent burgeoning, and intercultural 'incidents' increasing, we have become aware of the need to pay attention to the social problem in our midst. What we see does not enchant. We have, in the case of the disadvantaged it seems, tangible evidence that violates the American dream.

But merely to identify the problem and become intensely concerned, is not to solve it. Solution depends on overcoming the inertia of history--the social conditions that led to the extremes of poverty and disadvantage. They are, though we may be unwilling to admit it, still with us to a considerable degree. We have eliminated the practices of slavery but the attitudes that made it socially acceptable in the first place, have only undergone slight evolutions. Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and the economically unsuccessful, still reflect older beliefs in the social moral and intellectual inadequacy of those who can be so classified. Given the irrationality of such attitudes and beliefs, and given their disfunctional social consequences, reform is patently necessary. But the task is obviously a mammoth one. It will not be accomplished by haphazard, piece-meal attacks on selected problems here and there. Nor will it be accomplished immediately. We can anticipate that over the years efforts at amelioration will intensify, in range, in scope and in focus. One focus, and we think a critically important one, will be education. However, education has not yet served the disadvantaged community well. It too is bowed down by its own inertia. Consequently if education is to change, it too will have to do more than make minor modifications to its venerable structure.

Because we believed that educational change in the training of teachers of disadvantaged children would need to be substantial, we envisaged (i) the development of a comprehensive and integrated 'system' (in the systems theory sense of the word) for training teachers of the underprivileged so that they become experts in understanding the world of the disadvantaged; (ii) the implementation of that system as both pre-service and in-service teacher training programs, and most importantly, (iii) the utilization of this system in-action as a training program for the trainers of teachers of the disadvantaged.

However, another assumption underlay our initial planning. We did not necessarily believe that all change must necessarily be for the better. We were convinced that some needless expenditure of money and effort could be avoided by careful and systematic planning. We also believed that careful and systematic planning would be facilitated if advantage were taken of whatever up-to-date knowledge relevant to the problem could be gathered, evaluated and used. Because we thought that a substantial amount of the knowledge available in the social sciences about the world of the disadvantaged child would be relevant, we argued that it should therefore be accumulated, distilled and, when approved, be incorporated into our new system for training teachers.

While in accordance with the Triple T requirements, our principal objective was to provide a training program that would be viable for preparing trainers of teachers of the underprivileged. We held that such viability cannot be demonstrated unless competent teachers are being produced. Thus, hand in hand with the main objective then went a correlative one of developing a program for the actual training of teachers. This program for teachers or underprivileged children then would serve two purposes: (1) to provide concrete evidence of the practical results of the system; (2) to provide a continuing source of evaluation of and feedback to the main programs.

It should be emphasized at the outset that the training of teachers involves more than the trainers themselves. It involves curricula, equipment, plant, and, in fact, all the paraphernalia of the entire teaching program. Consequently, any improvement in any of these is, in effect, an improvement of the trainer. The project provided not only for improvement in the training of the trainers, but also improvement in teaching aids and curricula as well. Further, it provided for improvement in the quality of supplementary training given by school administrators and supervisory teachers. Finally, in order to follow through, it provided for the development of a completely new teacher-training program per se.

The program can best be seen as a series of interrelated Tasks. These Tasks cluster to form four major Operations. These Operations are respectively: (1) research and development; (2) activation; (3) dissemination; and (4) application. Operation 1 represents the 'planning stage', Operation 2 represents the 'pilot stage', and Operations 3 and 4 represent the 'operating stage'. The present report is concerned only with one aspect of Operation 1. As such it is consistent with the other aspects of Operation 1. They all employ the same strategy. It is different from the others in that its focus is on sociology.

Rationale. Educational action should be based on scientifically gleaned information. Regrettably, there is no empirical evidence available that adequately specified the consequences of any program for the disadvantaged. Educators cannot say with assurance 'if you do so and so with disadvantaged children, then such and such will result'. The best available information at the moment consists of teachers' 'good ideas', the assembled 'folk wisdom' of the past. Regrettably the worst available information also comes from the same source. This folk wisdom as we have seen, has been grossly inadequate in meeting the needs of the disadvantaged child--partly because there is no a priori basis for distinguishing between the best and the worst, and partly because no attempts have been made to accumulate, integrate and organize the insights and understandings that expert practitioners have. However, other social sciences have been concerned with the underprivileged for some time. They have evidence and insights that could be valuable if adapted to educational purposes. Given the criticism of current educational practice, it seems wise at this point in time, to take advantage of any scientifically derived evidence no matter its origin, provided that in the judgement of educationists, it is seen as potentially useful.

The problem that initally confronted us was to select among the different social science areas available. The relevancy of psychology and sociology were, we thought, both self evident. So was that area of educational research devoted specifically to the disadvantaged. We also felt that Social Work, with its direct contact with inner city life-styles would also prove fruitful. We deliberated somewhat longer before agreeing to include the fields of Community Development and Linguistics. We justified both selections for different reasons. The development of communities--new communities--was one basic assumption upon which our whole reformative approach was based. We assumed that new communities would (eventually) be developed both within the 'education system' and within society at large. If our new teachers were to be part of the process then they would be better prepared to deal with it, we reasoned, were they familiar with what Community Development had to offer.

The decision to focus on Linguistics was arrived at because of the central part language plays in education. Many of the reformative programs being attempted in schools are already attempting to improve language performance on the assumption that this would facilitate other educational performances. We were also aware of the controversy over the nature and extent of differences between black American English and white (standard) American English. Thus we reasoned that if language is critically central to a child's education and if language styles and habits are culturally determined, then Linguistics should be relevant to our problem.

To the resulting six social science areas we added a seventh that could not be strictly classified as scientific. We felt that practical experience should not be completely disregarded. We knew that teachers had insights and understandings that were invaluable. The fact that they were not necessarily well documented in the literature or well integrated in the way that an academic theoretician might systematise his understandings, was not a sufficient deterrent to prevent our attempting to probe this area too.

Our intention then was to attempt to establish a bridge between education and each of these areas. To mix the metaphor we wished to begin a process of translation into educationally useful terms of what might otherwise be regarded as exotic and esoteric information exclusively the property of the social sciences.

Our strategy in approaching each of the areas was the same in each case. It was twofold. First, we were to assemble a group of five acknowledged leaders in the field and confront them with the question: 'Given what insights you have into your area and knowledge you have about it, what do you consider the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand'. In the discussion that ensued, the task of the moderator (an educationist) was to confine attention to this single-minded question and to probe the implications of the point raised. Initial experimentation led us to conclude that an all day session (with suitable breaks) provided optimal returns. The discussion was tape-recorded and the resulting transcript then provided a permanent record of currently salient ideas. The second strategy entailed an extensive search of contemporary literature. This was to be undertaken by graduate students in the specific areas. Because they knew available sources, and because their conceptual orientation would be a function of their recent training, they would, we thought, provide the best media. They were initially instructed in the objectives of the exercise and the frames of reference they were to use. They too had to adopt a similar single-minded focus--the relevancy of the writings they were examining for the teacher who was teaching disadvantaged children. They were charged: to (i) survey all contemporary writing that dealt with the disadvantaged condition, (ii) abstract from each example whatever was thought to be (even remotely) relevant to the central issue, (iii) organize the abstracts so that listed after the bibliographical data, were (a) a statement of facts that were empirically supported (or were known to be empirically supportable), (b) a statement of assertions not empirically supported, (c) any relevant recommendations made within the article and (d) where thought necessary, any comments. The abstracted material was then recorded onto McBee cards. Subsequently, the complete array of McBee cards was studied in order that a basis for conceptually mapping the whole area could be developed. Thereupon, the McBee cards were again examined, this time to relate their content to the respective conceptual categories. This completed, we would then have a systematically ordered and organized set of information on which the next stage of the planning process could build. The next stage was to involve the construction of a set of behavioral objectives consonant with the distilled information, and appropriate for teachers of disadvantaged children.

This present report presents the outcomes of the examination of the sociology area. Specifically it records; (1) the deliberations of the Sociology consortium, (2) a condensed version of most of the material abstracted in the literature search, (3) a conceptual mapping of the field accompanied by a brief listing of relevant facts, (4) a final summation that outlines the broad basis on which the teacher training program itself will rest.

This report, like the first one on Linguistics, has been organized on two assumptions: First, that the gathering together of sociological information relevant to the education of the disadvantaged would prove useful to those concerned with developing teacher training programs. In this sense the report is a source book. Second, it is based on the assumption that the outcomes of our own deliberation on the problems of educating disadvantaged children might also prove helpful to others who have similar concerns. However, because we recognize that the planners of training programs are as uniquely individualistic as the problems they confront, our emphasis in this report is on the first rather than the second. Most readers, we assume, will make use of the first three sections. We, of course, will make most use of the fourth. It will provide us with the pad from which the next phase of practical implementation will be launched.

As well as the co-directors, a number of people involved in this part of the project should receive special mention. Initially fiscal responsibility for the project rested with Dean Keys. When he accepted appointment as Dean of Education at Kansas State University the task was taken up by B. Charles Leonard. Much of the organisation necessary to ensure the smooth running of the project was undertaken by Frederick J. Gies. Both he and Barney Madden coordinated the various literature searches although direct responsibility for the sociology literature search fell on Karuma Ahmad and Bob Jameson, while Terence Halliday undertook much of the 'clean up' work associated with the assembly of the Report. Finally Kirsten Morgan, with the assistance of Joan Blenkinsop, typed the document. Mrs. Morgan also undertook with quiet efficiency those many administrative and organisational tasks that go hand in hand with report production.

Raymond S. Adams,

Palmerston North, N.Z.,
July, 1970.

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SECTION I

This section is devoted entirely to the consortium held in New York in January 1970. Its participants were:

Professor David Bordua,
Department of Sociology,
University of Illinois.

Professor Sylvia F. Fava, Chairman,
Interdepartmental Program in Urban Studies,
City University of New York, Brooklyn College.

Professor Raymond W. Mack,
Department of Sociology,
Northwestern University.

Professor Lee Rainwater,
Department of Sociology,
Harvard University.

Professor Melvin M. Tumin,
Department of Sociology,
Princeton University.

and, as moderator,

Professor Raymond S. Adams,
College of Education, and Center for Research
in Social Behavior,
University of Missouri at Columbia.

A transcript of the consortium's discussion is contained in the pages that follow. Hopefully the reader will get from it some feeling of the intensity and sincerity of the exchanges that occurred. It was apparent at the outset that the five 'experts' chosen were immensely sympathetic to the nature of the problem that we had set them. They too shared our desire to find ways of alleviating disadvantage, they too saw education as providing one of the means for doing so. However, it should be pointed out that the question we put to them was not quite sociologically legitimate. We asked them to tell us what they, as sociologists, thought the teacher of disadvantaged children needed to know, think, feel and understand. This question presupposed several things. It presupposed that they knew what teachers in general were trying to do. It also presupposed that they would be prepared, for a while, to step outside their perhaps more conventional sociological role and attempt to assess the effects of social and societal conditions on the teacher. In other words, we were asking them to convert themselves into social-psychologists or perhaps social-educationists, when their persuasion lay elsewhere. This point need not be labored but it ought to be stressed. If the sociologists had been asked to offer their judgements on how the education of disadvantaged children might best be reformed, they would not initially have responded in terms of what the teacher might do. Concerned as they are, characteristically, with social systems, they would have first looked at system reform. They would have examined the education system vis a vis the macro-system of society. They would have probed the education system itself and subjected educational organisations to scrutiny. Their recommendations would have tended to focus on the manipulation of system components--only one of these being the teacher.

The fact that the five sociologists accepted our mandate then is testimony to their concern. The fact that they also demonstrated penetrating insight is testimony to their ability.

Several conventions have been followed in editing the transcript. First the speakers have not been identified separately although the moderator has--so that his naivete will not mistakenly be attributed to the sociologists. Second, an attempt has been made to preserve the essential messages of the communications faithfully. Editing has been as light as possible--merely sufficient to meet the readers' conventional expectations about grammar and punctuation.

The discussion starts with an attempt at scene setting by the moderator.

Part I

** *I think that what I should do first is recapitulate the idea behind our particular project, then leave things open for free discussion. Later on I've got some focussing questions I'd like to ask.*

*** ...The whole project is a response to an invitation from the U.S. Office of Education to a variety of university institutions throughout the country to get concerned about teacher training and the initiation of reform in teacher training. When we were invited we cast around initially, then made the decision to focus on disadvantaged education as a matter of general concern. Whereupon we asked the fundamental question, where would it be best to start? It seemed to us that we should start from the quantum of information, of knowledge, that represented the best thinking available at this particular point in time. So we began to consider how we might go about first amassing it. We argued that, despite the fact that research was inadequate to give us a perfect foundational base, nonetheless there was some information available if it only could be sought out. We also considered that if we were to go to those social sciences or to those social science-related fields that have been concerned with the problems of underprivilege, we would be likely to get from them some ideas that could (after they had been subjected to the filter that the educationists would put on them) be adapted and used in a teacher training program. While such an approach might be less than ideal, it would nonetheless provide us with the most advanced thinking available at this particular point of time. So we had to devise a system for getting at the insights and understandings that we presumed were available in the other disciplines. We adopted two strategies. The first one was to engage in meetings like this with various representatives from linguistics, social work, psychology, community development and educational research. The other strategy was to engage in an intensive search of the literature in each of the particular areas--the search being undertaken by graduate students in those areas. We had linguists doing the research in linguistic literature, and so on. The particular focus given the searchers was similar to the key question that will inform our discussion here. It was: "Given what you see in this literature, cull out anything that you think might be germane to what the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand."*

As an end product of these strategies we expect to arrive at first, a series of independent reports which take the information, *structure it, provide a conceptual framework for it and draw certain conclusions that suggest where we should be going at this particular point in time in the reform of our teacher training system. Second, when these independent studies have been done,we will have to attempt to reconcile them. However, we do think it's very likely there will be points of conflict between them, but even to expose the points of conflict will be a contribution to education anyway, in that something can be done about examining this conflict. We hope too, that these sets of organized ideas will provide a basis for further research because we believe fundamentally that until we place education on a firmer research basis we are going to continue the rather futile and haphazard procedures that have been characteristic of education for centuries. We also made one other fundamental assumption and it is that we want to regard teachers as professional people. Our idea of professionalism is simply that the teacher should be in a position to diagnose the situation in which she operates and select from a series of alternatives the ones that* ***she*** *thinks are appropriate for the given situation. This means that we are not producing teachers who are programmed to operate in a specific way that is universal for all teachers.*

I think that about summarizes it. If I've left too many gaps unclear, you should ask me questions at this point.

* *Is there any focus here on elementary school teaching as opposed to advanced teaching?*

** *Not necessarily.*

* *What are you hoping to get from us?*

** *I'm hoping to get ideas about what sociologists feel are salient issues, and how the teacher, in mediating these issues to children might do it intelligently and usefully. Does that make sense?*

* *Yes, but I think you're kidding yourself, because I think anything we have to say is already in the literature.*

** *I'm not so sure. It may be. It may be that all we do is reinforce the literature. If that's so, well and good. Then our two strategies complement each other. On the other hand, if we do in fact, generate something different, fine.*

* *I'm just thinking of the enormous amount of opinion on this*

and of the various undertakings which have been trying to do roughly what you're trying to do. For example, the Center for Urban Education has been collecting data on similar projects for a very long time, so I'm just wondering how we can best serve you, given what already exists in volume of work and knowledge.

*** I think in two ways. One, if on the off chance we have missed some of the things that we should have got, you can give us references. The other thing is to give me the benefit of your judgements so that you talk about things you think are salient. My assumption is that you know what you're talking about.*

** Well, suppose one were to start off by saying that you can't make it with any kids (much less with slum kids) as a teacher, unless you have in your heart some concern for that kid's development, unless you believe that kid is worthy.*

*** O.K. How would you handle it?*

** Overall organizing probably. Unless you start with the assumption that the kid is worthy you're not going to act as though he's worthy and you're not going to make any affort. As a result you're going to turn him off and he's going to say that you're an adult and* *therefore* *there is no point in spending the effort on it. You can develop a lot of things out of that. They would be sort of trite. They would be true, but they'd be trite. Do you want to do that kind of thing?*

*** I wouldn't mind doing that sort of thing for a little while, especially in response to the questions: Where do you think the teacher falls short at the moment, with regard to saying the child is worthy? And what would you, a sociologist, think needs to be done in order to make the teacher perceive the child as worthy? What are the necessary conditions for perceiving worthiness?*

** Let me suggest one other thing in response to your original statement about it being in the literature? I guess my statement is initially a question about who our audience is here. But I agree with what you say. I would expect that most of the faculty to whom teachers will be exposed in the next five years, that is, students who are going to teach, that most that faculty is much more likely to have read Moynahan than to have read Rainwater and Yancy; much* more likely to have read Oscar Lewis and know about the culture of poverty than to have read Duncan. So, when you say that it's in the literature, there are things that all of us may be familiar with but they are not likely to be fed into the curriculum of somebody going for a teaching certificate.

* I think that's absolutely right. And we could spend a lot of time here seeing things as they really are not, but are coming to believe but which you will find spelled out in great detail in the literature as to the fact that they really are.

* O.K. What are the most accepted things which are however, extremely dubious, or are very moot, and whose widespread acceptance is very dangerous?

* We can start off, I think, by saying there is no evidence that so-called deprived children have any less capacity to learn what it is that the school has to teach them than has anybody else.

** Should we mention a name here.

* That's right. The Jensen Report said nothing that hadn't already been previously scientifically discounted adequately. And that will be in the literature, increasingly over a time because a number of people are writing on it. There are three excellent issues of the Harvard Educational Review. It's all there if you can read those three issues. So if you wanted to make a major contribution you would distill the essence of those three issues.

* I think that the starting point suggested-- this whole question of worthiness--is a very good one. I think concern in this area has been due to an organizational definition of the teacher-pupil relationship. If we take this kind of idea and also take the fact that somehow the organizational instrument producing a definition of worthiness is a large bureaucratic instrument with all kinds of elaborate internal complexes and so on and so forth, then the problem is that the teacher is not the instrument of this worthiness. The task is to see how one can bureaucratize love.

* You don't mean bureaucratize. You mean institutionalize.

* No, I take it for granted that a school is not what a lot of the educational literature implies. A school is not just a roof put over a set of inter-personal relations. Most of the educational

literature that I read (how-to-do-it literature) implies that somehow the teacher is supposed to go out there and relate. In fact, a very simple question that ought to be asked is: In what kind of organizational structure is it possible or likely that teachers will do whatever we think what they ought to do--in a personal sense to produce what we want them to?

*	But I think that we can look then at the teacher-pupil relationship as an organizational product rather than just the organization as a sort of neutral field in which.....

**	O.K. If, in fact, the teacher is operating in a context like this and given the fact that the context exerts influences over which she will have no control what-so-ever. Nonetheless, it also exerts influences over which she will eventually have some control if she's aware of the nature of the system.

*	I would simply like to call this seriously in question. I think this business of feeding hundreds and thousands of 21 and 22 year-old professional idealists into apparatuses which simply cannot produce even in a minimum kind of professional field, a field of professional culture, and then to say that they will have some control over this, I think this is just a wild ideal.

**	You mean she can't change the system at all?

*	Very, very little. I would argue that it's a good place to start--to say that while this valence does change from school to school, that in general the higher the status of the school the less the need for the kind of thing we've started talking about, and the more the capacity of the teacher to do what you're talking about--diagnose situations and so on. One of the real problems is precisely that where certain kinds of teacher-pupil relations are most needed, they are organizationally least possible. I've always been impressed, for example, that one of the ways of dealing with school problems is to add a large number of professional specialists in science, counseling, testing, and so on. I think it's a good empirical statement that all of these tend to come in at a formal or informal rank higher than the classroom teacher. So what you do is, you improve the educational system by lengthening the bureaucracy and lowering the rank of the teacher. Ultimately, in many of the inner-city schools,

you end up with the situation where the teachers and the pupils are like the sanitation cart pusher and the dog, involved together in the bottom of this gigantic apparatus and somehow have to make do with each other. You keep lowering the level of the student teacher all the time. You are also asking her to have a sense of; "this is my world, this is my professional judgement". The exhortation goes in one direction and the organization goes in the other.

* *I agree.*

* *Why didn't you speak of the opposite for a moment, about the extent to which many teachers, given the autonomy in the classroom once the doors are locked, are often much worse than the school would let them be and sometimes are much better than the school cares for them to be, so that there are all degrees of.....*

* *I think we need to ask a lot of these questions; To what degree are we talking about inter-personal relations? To what degree are we talking about professional client relations? To what degree are we talking about a huge organization with a mass clientele? Even an elementary school, after all, with 500 kids in it is a large system. To what degree is it at all sensible to talk about things like individual differences if you have 30 kids in the classroom? How many individual differences can you know anything about with 20 kids, with 25 kids, with 30 kids, with 35? I mean, we just don't know any of this, it seems to me, and it's an obvious kind of thing. I have often had the feeling that if we took a modern infantry company in the American army it would provide a much more sophisticated model of how to reach the individual psyche, than would the average modern elementary school. Our schools are organized in the manner of 'Pickett's charge'--large numbers of people all basically doing the same thing, then someone says; "Forward". Look, who cares about individual differences. You have a sergeant with a drawn pistol who stands at the end of the file and all the lieutenants walk behind the drawn pistol. You don't need to know anything about individual differences--they're the "Yankees". You just don't pay any attention to guys who are following along behind you. You are just supposed to keep going. This strikes me as the essential model for organizing a school. The American army wouldn't do this at all nowadays.*

* *Not since Custer, that is!*

* *Custer was a jackass, you know. The modern infantry platoon is a highly internally differentiated unit with many, many subordinate officials whose prime function is careful monitoring of the psychic and physical morale state of a tiny group of people. This is very unlike a classroom, you see, which is really a "Pickett's charge". I would guess that the average number of men for whom a sergeant was responsible in the Civil War was about the same as the average number of pupils for whom a teacher is responsible at school--and that's about as far as we've gone in organization sophistication.*

** *Of course you're offending my educational idealism and, I'm forced to ask the question: why should I be blinded to what you claim to be a reality, alternatively, have you perceived the reality correctly?*

* *I have no idea. The only area I've ever done any valuable applied work in (and I'm willing to pursue this as an alternative) is the army. I'm impressed with the fact that the military, for example, can institutionalize concern. There was a marvellous picture on the cover of Life magazine some time ago, taken in Vietnam in the palmy days, when we had good race relations. In this picture, a black medic is cradling in his lap a wounded white buddy. And if that isn't the organizational production of concern, of a sense of worthiness, of love, of care, I don't know what is. Now these two guys, if you put them on the street without a war, they just wouldn't pay any attention to each other, at the very least. This is obviously an organization which cares about care. One of the facts is that an infantry company cares about its men far more than a school cares about its pupils. And this is just a fact and it takes organizational efforts to see to it that this concern is translated into organization proceedings.*

** *Let's say, I'm a concerned teacher and I believe I want to care but I'm defeated by institutional constraints about which I know nothing, but over which I presumably have no or little control. Now, question: have I got any salvation or are you preaching a philosophy of despair for me?*

* *No, because what I'm saying is that I want to start with the school--not with the teacher.*

** *I think it is fair enough to start with it but our problem is we're producing teachers. Irrespective of whether you want to start with the school or not, the teacher has got to get on with the job. Now, can we alleviate the teacher's task somewhat?*

* *You will have to take into account, at least for the moment, how much despair you have to start with realistically. In other words: what's the maximum impact any school can have on kids in what areas? Then you will have to sort out those areas first in which you think their teacher could have maximum impact, and then you would have to decide how you can best make them efficient. Let me give you an example. There is a recent book by Mel Cohen called Class and Conformity which said that the values relevant to success in this culture, in the occupational sphere, are held very differentially by parents of different classes. This is apparently, primarily a function of the kinds of occupations that the parents of different classes have. Kids who grow up with parents who are not in the success-specific occupations, have values that are deleterious, or at least indifferent to the ordinary success story. So, you may be putting an input into the school in terms of kids' orientations toward work and to all the virtues that are only relevant to traditional success, such that what the teacher did to them wouldn't make very much difference, no matter how concerned or how hard she worked because she would be working against all the parental and home values. Now, this doesn't mean that there isn't something that the teacher can do. I don't mean that. I think that if you ask just across the board what it is that the teacher, captive of the system as much as she may be, can nevertheless do, I think it's probably wise in any report you write, to be quite straightforward about the structural restraints on them. You may not like data on the military versus the school or any other, that doesn't matter. But it would be, I think, quixotic not to acknowledge how very limited in some areas you may really be, given all the possible powers of the school as traditionally conceived and with all the structural restraints on it. I think that's what has been urged on us--that we look at that structural model and see what are the limits within which we can work.*

Now, we surely have to respond to your question. O.K. But how much can we do of what? I think it's the discriminating of the "of what" that's crucial. You shouldn't overestimate your capacities.

** Accepted--beautifully put.

* I'm afraid that we might end up with "the sociology of education as a medicinal science". Between the bureaucratic realities on the one hand, about which we said; the teacher can't do anything, and the differential distribution of success related values on the other hand, about which we say the teacher can't do anything. What can we conclude, I don't know. Do we conclude, what the hell then, she's probably doing about as well as she can do. I think if we accept these two gigantic parameters, it's like walking with a ten ton boulder on each shoulder. If you manage to shuffle at all, you're probably doing pretty well. So all you tell a teacher is, you know, change shoulders or maybe rest more often or something of this sort. We do know, for example, that you can teach simple culturally deprived children to read up to national norms, under some circumstances. I don't know whether it's despite their values or because of them or what, but I think it will pay us to try to think in terms of things that we know perfectly well can be done.

* I think this kind of passivistic note is very useful to start out with but there is also the question of not only what the school can do but what the school should do. As a society, it seems to me, we have made education into a kind of state church that is, a repository of all good things and that should accomplish all good things. Maybe we're coming up against the realization that it won't work that way and that in the effort to solve all problems by education, that perhaps we create problems that we would be better off without.

* I think we've raised two points here. One is what can sociologies of disciplines contribute in the way of knowledge? Well, we've mentioned Jensen, the Coleman report is another, and here you have not only the mythical, semi-correct information which flows around, but all of the incorrect ideas. I've been reading some of the so-called summaries of the Coleman report and you wouldn't know that the writers had read the same work. Now, the other point is, how do we get this knowledge to the people who are going to be teaching the

teachers. I think this is a very real issue--sociology as a discipline. I don't know whether ASA is the vehicle or not, but sometime we'll have to face up to the obligation of disseminating our knowledge, its many fields, and one of them is going to be education. How do you get your practitioners to pass on this information as they teach in the classroom? Because there are all kinds of resistances there. I'm familiar with some of them in my own contacts. We hate to teach the education majors. We avoid it if at all possible. I'm not thinking about that only but the fact that much popular sociological knowledge is erroneous.

* I think that's characteristic of the literature. It's systematically misused on both sides.

* Yes, but what do we do about this?

* It gets you back to the organizational plight because the knowledge that's offered as apolitical in this area has important political implications. The people who are contending within the bureaucracies reach out and distort and use the stuff like crazy.

** Let me say something that may appear defeatist. The message that I've got so far is that nothing matters because the teacher can't do anything about it.

* I wish you wouldn't. What I'm saying is that a teacher is fundamentally the lowest level functionary in a gigantic organization.

** O.K., and she should see this?

* No, no, that we should see it and.....

* But you don't want her not to see it too because her union may enable her to see it and do something about it.

* All right. It may be they would and this gets into a whole series of other things. But my response as a sociologist, is that one facet of the sociological perspective says; just as you look at the person in his immediate environment--the teacher in the classroom, let's say, so you must also look at these smaller worlds and smaller systems in their own context too.

You see, if we didn't have this whole notion that we were training professionals (we say we are because we call our school of education a professional school and so we must be training professionals and all this is the imagery of the doctor-patient relationship, and so on) we would take it for granted that what we have here is a problem in organizational structuse and organizational functioning. To draw an analogy, the teacher is the patrolman of the school system and it would be insane to talk about police behavior without talking about the man's place down here, his orders, his material limits, the number of files he has to patrol, what kind of radio he has, all the linkages with the rest of the organization, and so on. It's true that there's always some choice available to the teacher but the organizational constraints are considerable too. It's very clear that policemen deal basically in person-to-person relations, although they're trained in a psychology as though they were dealing with mass relations. Teachers deal fundamentally with mass relations and are trained in a psychology as though they were dealing with person-to-person relations. A policeman almost never confronts 30 people at once, certainly not over any continuous period of time..... but a teacher confronts what amounts to an insipient riot every day. She walks in and there they are. A good cop would say, wait a minute, let's break them up. Let's get those three over here and those two over there and so on. You take him, and you take him, and so on. He would immediately sub-nucleate this crowd.

** That's called ability grouping.

* Well, call it anything you want, but the whole point is that what he's saying is; I need to be able to get to these people and you can't get to 30 people. A teacher starts out the other way round. And she can't figure out why in hell it is that the training and the context never have anything to do with each other, and I think this is because we just refuse to admit the fact that it's mass operation and then work out what can we do from that point.

I don't think it does any good to train your teachers. If you're just going to get her to know about idealisms. For five years they imagine they are teaching individuals and then they just kind of wear out, because they're not! And, if they're not, why should we pretend that they are and keep throwing them in there?

* Let's take the bit about concern. Let's take it as given, that unless a teacher has common concern for each child, she's not going to teach them equally. Now, we know two things that are not

true. It is not true that any teacher who wants to exhibit concern can exhibit concern, given the structure of the school, so most of the principles saying; "Love your children, that's all that matters", are nonsense. Also the opposite is not true. It is not true that the structure is such that no teacher can exhibit any concern that matters at all. Somewhere in between those two lies the correct version. The reason that I say somewhere in between the two, is because the partisans on these issues tend to push to the extreme--either saying that nothing you can do to the teacher can help because after all the structural restraints of the society and the school and the input are such that it won't matter at all, or, on the other hand, saying if only the teachers really cared, that's all that would matter. But, it's the unelliptical logic of these statements, of these findings, if they're findings, that drive them to one extreme or the other. The people who are going to teach teachers and make it meaningful, in a sense, are going to have to leave a lot of things in doubt--things that people are pushed to a certainty about now without proper evidence. Most of the statements that we would make would like very much in the middle between any such extreme statements. Whereas educators tend to make extreme statements about all you need to do is to love your children, be well prepared in your subject matter, etc., the new sociologists make quite the opposite statement that no matter what you do, the school's private society is so hung up on privilege and so on, and so on, that you can't do a single thing anyway in the calssroom.

** O.K., then I think as far as the teachers are concerned, if they could get a level of expectation that is closer to reality, they'd likely be better off as teachers.

* I don't see how any teacher can teach, however realistic she is about these things, unless she assumes that she is the only important person in that child's life when she's teaching and that everything she does is of the utmost significance. You have to have some kind of dramaturgical thing going on too in the classroom, in which the teacher believes she is absolutely omnipotent with regard to the possible effect she has on the kids. However untrue that may be, she has to act as though she is the all-important person.

** Why?

* That's destroying what you said earlier.

* The pretense is enormous. You have to act with regard to your kids as though everything you do was one thousand per cent consequential and that they and you are peer associates in the school.

** What's the assumption underlying that? Is it that the teacher is therefore exhibiting a desirable of a role model, a concern model?

* You exert every conceivable effort, regardless of the odds against you.

** But how do you keep a teacher going?

* Yes, for more than 10 years. And in a situation where there is often-times a very minimal feedback about success, at least until things get going, where the kids are hostile, where they make it fundamentally clear that they don't share your values about..... I've read a little about the history of rural education in the United States, and there is a little drama that goes something like this. A local girl whose father has a few more cows than the general run of fathers, sends her to normal school. She gets two years of normal school and she comes back home to teach. Ultimately she will marry the son of another father who has a few more cows than everybody. It was a kind of standard thing. She comes back and she's read a little Latin; she's read a few poems; she can quote Wordsworth; she joins the appropriate society. She reppesents what the community, on one hand, respects as literary culture and, on the other hand, a kind of wildly impractical invasion from the outside. So she goes into the classroom and very quickly the kids cut her down to size: "how is that going to fatten a cow, Miss Jones?" "Oh, look at them pretty words", and so on. So this whole notion of the teacher representing a set of cultural values different from the kids is beautifully illustrated in the clash. Now, there was a traditional way of handling this class..... There are two things. The community didn't want the kids to become like the teacher, because the teacher was like the minister. It wanted her to represent these values to a degree but sure as hell it didn't expect everybody to become literary. You know, those country bumpkins are mostly going to end up as country bumpkins, and indeed from the community's

point of view this is a good thing too. So, it was handled traditionally by simply acknowledging that the community didn't want her to succeed but providing her with the means of not being labelled a failure--it was handled by force. If the kids carried their value opposition beyond a certain level, to the point where it was disruptive, they simply got hit. The local community didn't support her values much, but they sure as hell supported her power. All right now, it was the power that they expected her to use to not corrupt too many of their kids by transmitting these values. It was a very confused and complicated situation. What's hopeful now is that far more people really believe in the kinds of cultural values the teachers have to transmit. I think the conflict between the current lower class and the old lower class and the teacher is much less than it once was. How then do you keep this teacher going with other than just a totally routinized and despair ridden discouragement.

So you've got to keep alive in her the sense that what she believes in is important. By the way, this means that you don't tell teachers that what they have to teach is Mau Mau. They've got to be convinced that English is worth learning and that they're not some kind of betrayers of the poor when they want to teach them reading, writing and arithmetic. It's good for people to know these things and the hip professors who say: "they don't dig it in the inner city", undermine the morale of the teacher trainee before she even gets out of the sophomore year because, after all, why the hell do they need her in the inner city? The kids teach each other--on the street. Who needs a school teacher?

* This is what I meant earlier, when I said that I think the 'pop' interpretation of the ideal of the culture of poverty is one of the more serious things we've done to undermine the taachers we're sending out. What they have is a popular idea, loosely translated that says; "poor people learn to like to live that way and you're really imposing your values from outside on them when you try to teach them to live the way you do, meaning to speak English and to have a good job, make more money..... you know, you're just like the anthropologist colonial, interfering with the tribe's way of life. The lower class tribe loves it that way." I think this is a vicious thing.

* The problem is that teaching presents teachers and school systems with so much failure, that they have to have explanations for that failure. And that's a beautiful one. Now that that one is wearing out I understand we're going to get brain damage and malnutrition as the problem.

* Don't laugh at that because the evidence looks too good on some of that.

* I just don't believe that. That's why we have millions of dumb Chinese?

* No, no, no.

* I just actually came back from a nine month study in Guatemala and other Latin American countries where very close attention is being given by physiologists and neurologists to diet and to intellectual functioning. They're suggesting that protein deficiency in the first six months causes irreparable damage. If it doesn't happen until after the first year it is reparable, but if it happens in the first year it is irreparable. I don't know how many kids that effects but an hypothesis about the possibility of diet being relatively influential would just have to wipe it out. However, as a way of accounting for malfunctioning of black kids in the ghettos at the moment, I would say that it is among the least likely hypotheses, but I wouldn't want to throw it out as one dimension that ought to be looked at.

* One other difficulty here is that research is no substitute for will. I'm impressed, for example, that when Frederick II, or whoever it was, finally decided that he needed serfs and other such low-life creatures because if you put a gun in the hands of a fairly ordinary citizen and pointed him in the right direction, he makes a devastating impact on the opposition, the whole structure of military life was completely changed by this discovery. Simultaneously, the whole structure of the modern state was changed because it was suddenly realized that if you were going to require people to bear arms, you had to do a whole series of things. You had, in effect, to destroy the traditional privileges of feudal landlords--which was a big problem because they provided leadership and there wasn't anybody else around. So some minimum education was needed and so

Frederick in a nice sort of non-democratic way simply said: "all right, there shall be a school in every commune, or village, or whatever, and there shall be a teacher, etc., bang, bang, bang. And, you know, they taught the people to read there and then.

* I think you've taken some historical liberties there.

* Very likely but the point is that up until very recently there simply has not been a collective decision, in some fundamental sense, that children will be educated. Now, sooner or later somebody is going to have to make the decision that whoever comes in the door the first day of school, Moynahan children, Rainwater and Yancy children, Coleman children, anybody's children, will be educated with everything at our command, with every instrument we can develop, and with every bit of sophistication, effort and energy we can produce. Of course, ignorant children are harder to teach than educated children. Is this a new invention? I went to school part of my life in a one room country school and we were ignorant. It was a big problem because our parents were ignorant. And, nobody knew we were culturally deprived. We were just ignorant, and the job of the school is to overcome ignorance.

** I think the educationists would accept it, only the fact is, I think, that they think they're operating as if they had this idea for a long time.

* Have they been committed to the equal education of all children regardless of differences in talent?

** They have stated so.

* Regardless of differences in talent?

** Yes. They have stated so.

* Regardless of the differences in race, creed, nationality, ethnic origin, but not regardless of differences in talent?

** I said, they think they're operating as if they believe in them. Now, whether they are is another question. I will agree with you immediately that the actions belie the intentions, but the intention is there.

* Let me tell you why I think you're not right about that assumption--based on my own limited experience. I taught teachers for 10 years at Teachers College and I lectured widely to teacher

audiences. So long as I didn't talk about the need to teach all kids equally regardless of their interests and talents, the teachers embraced every liberal cliche I uttered about the equal work of all kids, and so on. The moment you bring in the notion that every kid, however little his progress may be able to be, is nevertheless entitled to your equal efforts even though the school doesn't reward you because he doesn't become a National Merit Scholar, at that point, so help me, the teachers renege. This is because they say; how will we be able to create a society? How will I know the good from the bad? How will I mark the succeeding from the failing? Then one gets the whole impact of the notion of the differential entitlement of the well-born to a better education and to more of your effort because they're the people that bring you honor in the system. They're the people who make the society. It's not just the action but there's an ideological base to that too, Ray...

** *O.K. I think the teachers are realists. I think they're reflecting their awareness of the name of the game. Nonetheless, if you look at educational philosophical writing, it displays the message that I was talking about.*

* *Right. Between Phil Phenix and you there's agreement or between John Dewey and you there's agreement, except that we're not quite equal and when one gets down to what the ideological commitments of teachers are.*

* *Two things here. One, you ought to know you're getting a very biased sample of sociologists. It's quite clear. We're all old establishmentarians. You ought to be worried about that because you may want to have a whole different crowd of the new sociologists who will say: "Man, dig it". "Get into the ghetto schools and play games with them." And in some modern version of what they say we might agree with them. But you're getting a very biased sample. Secondly, I propose this point. Regardless how bad the schools are and all the rubbish that comes out of them, somehow they turn out an enormous number of people with various levels of skills and knowledge who run a society. We get engineers and doctors--they're not nearly as good as they could be but it's extraordinary how good many of them are. That may be in spite of the system, but it's got*

to be partly because of the system too. When kids come in and they don't know arithmetic and when they go out and some kids do know arithmetic, the school taught them arithmetic. They didn't drum up the arithmetic in their heads. So, you've got two curious facts going here: (1) that the system as such, within the limits of what most people would announce are its ends, up until relatively recently, has done an enormous job. It's only in the last few years when concern for the loss of the learning that might have been given to all kids (especially to those kids who were shucked off from the sixth grade on because they're in the bottom half) that the schools have become looked upon as failures.

*   Not only that, it's probably only because there happens to be such a high correlation between a status at which failure was always accepted and produced. So that you have a clearly identifiable group of failures and it happens to be extremely unpleasant politically and every other way.

*   Because it's a matter of when it is a failure, you know. Drop-out is a contemporary term. We talk about it as if we didn't realize that. My father finished eight years of school and he was no drop-out. He was a little ahead. National medians were seven. He was a good American. He finished eighth, you know. A guy who finishes eighth now is known as a drop-out and we're quite right.

*   You draw from 400 years of history when we look at the entering behavior of the black kid. Take the most extreme situation in the urban ghetto, where parents are, for all practical purposes, illiterate--maybe literally illiterate--and whose grandparents were illiterate. If we look at the contemporary kid and we say, now in order to function in society he has to have some post high school education, what we're literally asking that kid to do in only a third, maybe or a quarter of his lifetime, is to literally make up for at least a hundred years of history. Had we had a Frederick instead of an Abraham Lincoln (and even had we had him) and established eighth grade education universally at the end of the Civil War (I don't care how miserably done, just by whatever were the standards of the time, McGuffey's Reader, anything), consider the difference. If these kids' grandparents had had that eighth grade

education, their parents would have had the same or perhaps tenth grade and it would now be, in a sense, biographically feasible to ask him to make the next step. But what we're asking this kid to do is in his biography to make up an entire century. When he sits at his end of that tunnel and looks toward the other end, he must be scared to death. In a very real sense we're asking for a three generational victory over ignorance to take place in a particular kid in a short period of life. I think that this is a fantastic burden to place on a kid. And the more we tell him: "Look, your parents were in poverty, your grandparents were in poverty, and so on, so forth", the more nervous and unhappy and under stress and miserable the kid must be. It must be a fantastic thing. And this means that the organization concern of care, of a definition that says you can do it, it's worthwhile doing, etc. it's particularly critical. If you only have to go three years beyond your parents, well, almost anybody can summon that up. But if you have to go what amounts to an educational infinity beyond your parents--you have to make college and your parents can't read and write--then that's too much.

*   *I think that may be a little bit too dramatic, because if you take the kids who are in the first four or five grades now in a ghetto school, most of their parents are northern born and their average education must be at least ten and it's probably even higher than that tenth grade. It may not have taken very well and they may not in fact have what we ordinarily think of as a tenth grade education, but they've been through that system.*

**   *But the principle holds. And with it is the fact that while the underprivileged kid is making up the leeway, the other kids are taking advantage of their previous increment.*

*   *This accounts for the peculiar ambivalence that I see a lot of our new black kids showing. On the one hand they are antagonistic toward what they conceive of as the imposition of the white middle-class values on the ghetto. On the other hand they get enraged at the fact that they never had any homework, that nobody forced them to learn. So on the one hand they're unhappy, because they feel that education somehow is a kind of cultural colonialism. But, on*

the other hand, they will turn right around in the same argument and say: "We got educated to be serfs, we didn't get all this other stuff, you didn't give us enough white middle-class to get to college, and here we are". Which means that the new sociologists, I think, are very bad news in the ghetto.

* They're bad news depending on which way you take your policy decision. If you put the question as to whether lots more kids ought to go to college than are now going to college, I think your question is unanswerable. It's in the framework of existing definitions of college. But if you are now stating that if anyone is entitled to a thirteenth year, everyone is entitled to a thirteenth year, without regard for what he learned in the twelfth year, simply because he can learn something more in the thirteenth year than he learned in the twelfth year, that's different. (Even though what he learns may be what somebody else learned in the sixth year.) Now, I'm willing to make a political concession and call that college, however, it offends lots of other people who have a different version of college. You make that policy decision and you then get it built into the orientation of teachers that these kids are going to go on to a thirteenth and a fourteenth year, then I think that this is different from asking: should all kids go to college? This is because, the teachers are still thinking in terms of traditional definitions as are parents and the governments. One plays another game and says; Yes, they're going to college, the Community College and they may be learning there what they should have been learning in the ninth year in high school (don't say this to them because they don't like to hear it), but they're entitled to a thirteenth and a fourteenth year, and we'll call it college and they'll get a degree.

* I see this point--but black kids now in New York City don't want to go on to open enrollment to the community colleges. They want to go to the senior colleges because these are 'real colleges'.

* We get hung up because we want to talk about real colleges versus unreal colleges. And from the rest of the culture's point of view there is a point in distinguishing between what you're teaching, to whom, at what level and who is going to be certified for what.

And that feeds back into the entire system for evaluating what you have, at the end of twelve, thirteen or fourteen years. But, we get back to the point that if you can get a policy orientation which says everyone is entitled to go on to school for as long as the public pot can afford it, provided you don't think that you're training people who are professionally qualified for anything, then you start taking a different view of your educational system. It makes it easier for the teacher so that she doesn't have to say; I wished I'd moved to Regent's Point, down five points, so that I can get these kids entered into the college. That leads to all kinds of intellectual abortions in the school and distortion of standards and fake equivalences between a kid who can do calculus and a kid who can't add a grocery bill. The more you try to get that fake equivalence, the more you push things down and fudge the grades and subvert education. But if you can get the beginning of a policy committment to continuing education for as long as the public pot can hold it for everyone, that's the beginning of being able to be commonly concerned with an acknowledgement of differences and capacity to learn however much it may be genetic or social.

** *O.K. Now to this extent would you think that teachers who are made aware of the bases that have led you to this conclusion would be more concerned and would therefore be able to exert whatever influence they can exert towards changing the system so that it accepts this too? Would you advocate this, for instance, for teachers in training?*

* *If you could also promise them to some degree that the schools will not punish them nor will they be dishonored for turning out at the end of 10 to 12 years, people who some years ago would not have been able to pass a ninth grade admissions exam (to put it at not too extreme points). If you can get the schools to promise not to dishonor them for those products, then I think that teachers could relax considerably more about what they're doing.*

* *Aren't you really conceding an incredible kind of defeat for the kids as well as the schools if you take that point of view? At the college end it makes some sense. I mean, you can admit that there are a lot of kids who really aren't intellectually capable of*

doing what we've traditionally regarded as college work, but it might still be worthwhile, they're being in school a few more years because there are other things they can learn, and they can profit from, and so on. But that line can't really be extended back into the high school because there is no evidence that there is any reason, other than an abysmally put together educational system, that most of those kids aren't learning what's to be offered in the high schools. What's to be offered is not that difficult.

* *Well, wait a minute. Assume that you're dealing only with a white population from the middle-class and they've had perfectly equal opportunity in terms of all home supports so that nothing else matters but genetic distribution of the parents. At the end of the twelfth year you would have a vast array of things learned, wouldn't you?*

* *Right.*

* *So you are going to get differential achievement at the end of twelve years anyway and I don't think you're conceding defeat any more now than you would have been earlier by saying that no matter what we do, even assuming perfect equality of opportunity, we're going to get a vast range of differences in things learned by the end of any given year in school because of genetic differences in kids--forgetting white and black, and just assuming that intelligence is normally distributed.*

* *That's a perfectly sensible, humane kind of argument but, as we were talking about the culture of poverty and so on, it has the capacity to be used as an excuse for lousy education.*

* *Absolutely, absolutely, but it must not allow anyone to relax and say: if that's the kind of kid, I can't teach anymore. Absolutely, that's the worst misuse of it. That's why every one of these statements is so pregnant with political problems. That we say a kid is entitled to a thirteenth year along with every other kid no matter what level he is, must not allow teachers to assume they don't have to worry about teaching very much because he isn't capable of learning. It must allow them to relax about bringing that kid up to some other kid's standards, provided she is doing everything to bring that kid up to the maximum he can do*

within the framework.

* *Supposing we try to translate a kind of political decision. In a sense we're going to go from that directly to the will, the motivation, of the teacher. I've been concerned with knowing how to put together a school so that you can maintain that kind of motivation. I think that most teachers want to teach. They're naive as hell in a lot of ways, but they want to do something. I've toyed with some ideas about this. Supposing we simply said you can never transfer a kid out of a class or you can never transfer a kid out of a school, so that you create organizationally what's true at the society level, that is, the society has only its own children. It doesn't have ideal children. It doesn't have fantasy children. They are--that's it. That's what we have. The function of our educational system is to teach our children, not some other kind of children, not children only at the three sigmas of the mean, not genetically superior children, just the ones that come through the door. That's all we have anyway--one batch of children and one school system--they're supposed to come together. While this makes some sense at the national level,what you get in the system is a tremendous amount of shuffling around of the children. There are all sorts of mechanisms for transferring children out of any given classroom, for transferring them out of any given school--from the public schools to the parochial schools and back to the public schools--and so on.*

* *Why would you want a kid to be bound to one teacher for his career?*

* *No, no, not for his whole life but for any given time. Supposing we simply say that a school, not necessarily a classroom but a school, can never transfer a child. The argument is: "Look, everybody here, you've got these kids. These are the ones you're going to have to teach. You've got to quit having the subconscious notion that you don't have to teach the ones who are below average in terms of genetic capacity. If you don't have the 'out', your real thing is dealing with bright kids, so that if you don't deal with the others, you needn't regard yourself as failing. You don't have the 'out' that if this kid doesn't fit into your routines he is going*

to go away."

In a sense the problem is, how does one create a feeling of fate, in a way that the teacher recognizes that there the children are and here she is and that they are all going to have to make it together.

* Yes, but you know unless you give the school then the resources to deal flexibly with all kinds of an enormous range, you're going to get prisoners locked up in a particular isolation ward.

* I think in some ways it might be better to lock them up with each other and say; look, you're going to have to make do with each other.

* Then give them equal power to fight the decision inside the school.

* O.K., O.K. This may well be. But I think at present we adopt a whole series of mechanisms that give the teacher and the kids the notion that somehow for some we don't really have to confront the educational process, that somebody is going to take the awkward kids away.

* But how should the kids get a chance. I think you're saying that distribution of power isn't very critical.

* I think, in a very real sense, special classes for not so bright kids is a kind of 'out' for kids who, for whatever reason, don't want to make the commitments that are involved in getting an education.

* But isn't that exactly what would happen if they had to be confined to one institution?

* Not necessarily.

* Very obviously to be involved you have to do away with tracking too because tracking makes.....

* I would be more than willing to entertain this idea, at least as an argument, because I think the educational system is full of organizational devices to avoid education.

** O.K. Even so, irrespective of the educational organization, it seems to me that coming out of the discussion is the idea that you've got to reduce the teacher's vulnerability--that somehow or other she's got to be able to operate in whatever context she finds herself in such a way that she's not continuously under threat or, she can manage whatever threats there are. And it seems to me that we get threats from a variety of sources. We get them from the kids themselves. We get them from the system itself. We get them from the parents themselves. We get them from the community itself. Now, question--can sociologists throw any light on the possible ways in which teachers might be able to deal with such threats, so that their vulnerability can be reduced?

* Along with teachers being faced with these threats, they are also confronted with inadequate role supports when they do conceive of themselves in a way that you would approve of. You cannot simply eliminate the threats without putting in positive role sanctions that generate proper behavior. One of the saddest things in the school is to see teachers being taken down to the lowest performance level possible by the old-timers in the school. You know their catch-cries: "What the hell are you working on?" "That kind of kid is no good" etc. So the teacher's room becomes the place in which young teachers are put in their place and shoved aside from their idealism. That's where they learn quickly how to be embittered cynics about the teaching profession. There's no real role support built in for people who are going to play the democratic egalitarian game in the school except an occasional lecture from the principal once every three months.

** Let me try an interpretation here. If, in fact, they're not getting those supports, the only reason that the lack of support effects them is that because they expected the support. Now, could I argue that if you change their expectations so that they know that's the way it's going to be and that they're going to have to....

* Oh no. You're not living on air. These are young, vulnerable kids. How the hell are they going to live without continuous role reinforcement? If everytime that they want to do what they think is right; say in terms of individuating education, the principal says; My dear, we simply haven't got the room for that, we haven't got the supplies. You'll have to make do the best you can. And the older teachers take them down. How much grit can they have?

** O.K., but if this is a reality, you know, and the colleges *of education are promising them supports that aren't going to be there, it seems to me that the colleges themselves are subverting the teacher.*

*	*But if you agree that those role supports are crucial to their playing the proper role themselves then the next question is not what can the teachers do in spite of the absence of the role support, but how can you build some role support into the school.*

**	*Sure. This is a 'given' but it.....*

*	*I have the feeling you're going to go home and put all the burden on the teachers.*

*	*No, I'm not. Perhaps I should make this point* ***very*** *clear. I think that if we had to look at the general reform of education (which we fundamentally would like to look at) I would argue that we have to start right at the opposite end of the scale. We've got to look at the economic system. We've got to look at the philosophy that's enshrined in the society. And, we've got to start reforming the whole system of education within its political, economic framework so that we can work our way through the organization eventually to the classroom. But I'm going to argue that at this particular point of time now, in 1970, while approaches are being made on all these separate fronts, nonetheless, it still remains the task of the teacher who is being trained by the teacher training institutions, to go out there and teach kids. And she needs some sort of educational support to do that.*

*	*There are all sorts of things that she can be trained to do. There are some simple mechanisms. First, you never put only one or two new teachers into one of these old sour situations. It could simply be a professional norm held by schools of education that in certain kinds of schools new teachers should be fed in at never less than 20% or 30% or 40% of the continuing complement. The idea is that they always get fed in with some kind of a team leader or somebody who can meet with them, perhaps not in the lunch room, but afterwards, to keep their idealism going.*

**	*Now, wait a minute. This is not under the control of the colleges of education. It is under the control of the superintendent.*

*	*Right. I think it's perfectly legitimate for the colleges of education to say; given whatever we know technically about the*

organisation of the educational system, this is what we think is the best way to do it. Of course, you can't force the superintendent of schools but you can say;from our judgement, you're behaving at less than the professional level. And you tell the teachers that you turn out so that when they have to fight, they can say that they know this is true because Professor so-and-so said so back at the ranch. You've got to look at this, it seems to me, as to a degree of reform operation.

** *I think this is what relates to the point I was trying to make earlier. To what extent do you give the teacher information so that as she becomes a member of the school organization she works to initiate reform in the system?*

* *All right. Then you have to define the whole business of becoming a new teacher as being part of the social movement. You have to think in terms of organizing something like reform cells, so that you can say to them without threat and without despair; when you get out there, the old-timers are likely to say this and this and this. You'll be told teaching here is a catastrophy. This is the kind of thing you can expect to get. What should you do? First of all, you should band together. You should form a new teachers' caucus. We know you'll wear out, out there and we know that in a sense the function of the education professor, who is removed from the struggle, is to hold high the torch, right? It's like a missionary society or any comparable kind of situation.*

** *Agreement or disagreement?*

* *Well, one of the ways of attacking that also (and it's much more structural, it seems to me) is to look at the whole salary structure of teachers and the tenure system which now has begun to be looked at. You could make the point that one of the things wrong with the New York City system is that we have a high salary structure and all those old, encrusted people who are embittered (and it doesn't take five years) monopolize the top places. Maybe one of the things that you ought to be pushing for in your teachers' caucus or your professional groups is to look at the salary structure. Because the salary structure is so high, people don't get out of the system, but they hang on, forced to be a sub at a low level in order*

not to lose a place in the queue. There are long, long waiting lists so that the black, or the Puerto Rican, or whoever it is who wants to advance, cannot.

* *I can defend the argument that unless something is done the unionisation of teachers is going to be the final disaster in the American public schools.*

* *It's happening on the college level too.*

* *You're trading one horror for another. You're trading the horror of an autocratic school system in which teachers won't open their mouths until they get tenure because they're afraid of the whole bloody system, for the other horror in which teachers will open their mouths at the slightest provocation without any real regard for the educational issues because they don't need any protection. I don't want to choose between those two. Those are two equal disasters of very different kinds.*

* *Let's pursue the notion of concern, in a bureaucracy with the teacher, in a sense, the link between the organization and the kids. It's very common, especially in the early grades in so-called deprived areas, to find that the kids are not, in a sense, phychically prepared for of number of things, for example, for sitting still, for being in a kind of strange environment, for a whole series of things. This comes from some of the older things I've read on the kind of time and motion studies of what goes on in the classroom.....*

** *There are not too many. I've done one study recently using videotape.*

* *Did you find an awful lot of time is spent simply trying to manage things?*

** *On an average, about ten per cent.*

* *That's a hell of a lot.*

* *On management, or.....?*

** *Yes, management and organization.*

* *How about just keeping it sufficiently quiet too, so that some learning goes on?*

** *Well, we were operating in quiet, nicely scrubbed middle-class areas. We are not getting videotapes from ghetto areas.*

* *Where my youngster goes to school there is a peculiar kind of*

situation, in that the kids are very free to move around, very free to do what they want, and so on and so forth. But the whole system is extremely ordered. The dilemma in a way is that the middle-class kid gets much more classroom freedom precisely because most of the time he is going to use that freedom for something that the teacher thinks of as educational and constructive. In the lower-class school this is not likely to happen or at least it's not perceived as likely to happen (I think it's just not likely to happen). Now, why can't you have a situation, for example, where routinely in the morning the teacher serves food to the kids? To a degree, in highly deprived areas, you really have a kind of orthogenic school problem. Now you don't want to push this too far. They're not necessarily sick or anything like that, and you have to avoid having this be in the hands of the school nutritionist because she'll get carrot sticks. She'll be concerned with protein deficiency. What I want is love food. I want sticky doughnuts, candy bars. Put a little protein in there but don't tell the kids, right? So how does the day start? The teacher starts with a buffet in the classroom first thing in the morning, not in the lunch room but in her class. Don't worry about mess. Kids should be able to eat things that get on their faces so that they know that they're being cared for. I mean, how do you know you're being cared for with a carrot stick for instance? It's smooth, it's clean, it's got no love to it at all. I think you could set forth a battery of procedures that come from for example, Bettleheim's work. They would have to be modified according to resources and so on. Essentially what it would do is reinforce the solidarity of a relationship between a kid and a school--the warmth of the relationship between a teacher and pupil. But it's no good, you see, to tell the teacher; "Be warm". What does that mean? Smile?

* O.K., let's tack this to the earlier, more general point. Let's assume for the moment that more rather than less beginning teachers come out of teachers colleges, maybe in spite of rather than because of the teachers college, dedicated to some ideal version of the role of the teacher. There are all kinds of shortcomings in that assumption but let's assume that for the sake of the question that I'd like to ask. I just don't know how to think about this, but the question is;

what mechanisms could be used that don't have too high a danger of becoming barbaric themselves, to preserve that idealism in a teacher?

* I guess I disagree with the sticky doughnuts, if they're just for lower-class kids. If they're for middle-class kids too, O.K. But I think that the problem in the lower-class school is that the teacher very quickly learns to give up on any kind of a normal production. She doesn't think of herself as there to produce learning. So the kids are quickly taught not to produce. Therefore, anything you figure out ought to be really very directly oriented to production.

* It's very difficult for her to keep up that notion if she has to spend so much of her time doing things that she doesn't think of as teaching, keeping order, managing the kids, and so on.

* But that's partly because she doesn't get them involved in productive activity.

* All right.

* I've visited Bob Hamlin's schools in St. Louis where he uses operant conditioning and social exchange principles. Those classes are incredibly well behaved and there is one simple mechanism by which it's accomplished--although there's a lot of instrumentation of that mechanism. The rewards the teachers give to the kids are made systematically, contingent on the kids' behavior and that's all there is to it. If there were a sticky doughnut in one of his classes, you'd have to buy it with tokens. And you buy it with tokens by filling out your workbook and showing it to the teacher and getting the tokens.

* There aren't any kids who just say; I can't run these risks, I don't have the self-confidence to?

* Well, Hamlin's view is that you start each kid off where he is and you find something that you want him to do that can be rewarded. In other words, you don't come in with a set of things the child has to do but you try to get him hooked on the whole notion of contingent reward.

* I want to argue with some interpretations of this, because there are now two major theories of learning that are really in competition with each other. One is the developmental stage sequence and the other is operant conditioning and I've become very

impressed with the unrealism of operant conditioning if it assumes readiness for certain moral levels earlier than kids are actually ready for this. You just can't make it no matter what you do.

* *In this case their concern is only with behavior. I mean, in a certain sense, morality is taken as incidental.*

* *It's hard for many ghetto children to run the risks of doing anything--they have had so few inputs simply by virtue of their having been solidary members of families that don't operate on the school's wavelength.*

* *But that's true only of a small group of the kids who come out of the ghetto. Most of them come to school looking forward to it. Most of them are interested and they're responsive in class and so on. But somehow, as time goes on, the few who misbehave get the teacher so hooked on them, that pretty soon she's bearing down on all the kids and they get taught to* ***Behave*** *rather than to* ***produce.*** *But, there is also a group of kids; and there are more of them in the slum schools than there are in the middle-class schools, who don't talk. That's one type, the highly withdrawn kids, or those who are very disruptive. But even there, in Hamlin's classes they responded very quickly to this kind of treatment. His thing with the non-verbal kids is wild. After three weeks he's got them going from no talking to incessant talking--they couldn't shut them up. They had to cut off their tokens so they'd stop.*

* *Harold Combs from S.I.U. took the bottom third of the high school graduating class and got them through the University of Illinois with no more resources per capita than anybody else and had more Phi Beta Kappa's out of the bottom third of the graduating class than they got out of the top two-thirds of the graduating class.*

* *That's great.*

* *He worked with 60 kids who were committed to the National Institute for Boys, murderers, you know, the most alienated kids in the world. He used consistent, excessive Skinnerism--though it was really a function of his own personal genius. It's quite clear, really. He's got it on a machine. I saw his program and it's extraordinary.*

** *I wonder to what extent the Hawthorne effect comes into this deal?*

* It seems to me that now we are discussing a very profound issue. My concern has always been for establishing some minimal social floor as a base from which to build so that children and teachers are not so threatened by the situation. But if this kind of operant conditioning is true then in effect you can hook this together with a production emphasis in ways which at least theoretically are not as threatening as I had assumed them to be.

* Maybe the social plum varies. Maybe for some kids it's strictly entertaining, and that they see a reward in utilitarian terms as sufficient to maintain and sustain a social relationship.

* But you see, a rewarding social relationship is a rewarding social relationship. It may be Hamlin's thing that he designs that relationship in such a fashion that a kid has to do something called talk--you know? O.K. fine, but the kid I'm sure still goes home and says: "Gee, that's a nice teacher, that's a good set up, I really belong there", and so on.

* After a while the kid shifts from tokens to rewards intrinsic in the activity. Presumably he just stays at that higher level. If he doesn't, then they put the tokens back in.

* But the key to this, it seems to me, is differentially scaled expectations so that every kid is getting some kind of reward. Now you say: well, it's contingent. It's contingent in one sense, in that he has to do something. But if after all, you reward a kid for doing something you know perfectly well it's fairly easy for him to do, then in effect, you have non-contingent rewards. But if you want equal rewards for unequal productivity then he does a little more and then some more, and so on, on the assumption that you can't expect the kid to do more than he's capable of.

** I wonder if what we're saying is that there are different kinds of reward systems and that the teacher had better beware in assuming that she can give a sort of personal reward that's associated with her identity and integrity. When, in fact, the kid rejects her as a position holder or as a person? On the other hand, the token is neutral.

* Yes, but I think it would be interesting to examine your videotapes from this perspective. One of the things I think you'll

see is that teachers do not use that reward contingently. For example, they say 'very good' even when it isn't very good, so pretty soon it justs means 'I like you', but it doesn't draw attention to certain desirable behaviors and away from other undesirable ones.

* I think this partly derives from the gross overdevelopment of the argument that personal behavior is self-realising. I think that it is probably much more sensible sociologically to say that it is desirable to relate to people who reward you, rather than saying that certain kinds of flows are rewards because they come from a person with whom it is desirable to relate. For example, when the kid comes into the first grade, he doesn't know the teacher, O.K.? The way you make that teacher a desirable person, is by having a teacher reward somehow--produce something of positive benefit to the kid, however we look at it.

* The developmental stage theorists say that the function of rewards is not because the kids seek the rewards which are gratifying (which is what this version of operant conditioning says) but rather that rewards are gratifying because they reassure the kids that expectations have been met. That's a very different view about operant growth than the operant conditioning view which says the kids are seeking the rewards and hence perform the task in order to achieve the rewards. The other turns it all around so the seeker wants to reassure themselves that they have learned or gained the ends that have been selected as desirable.

* Well, it can be both.

* If that were all there were to it, then the kids would not be that interested in spending their tokens. They would just keep them there as a kind of store. And, in fact, they want to spend those tokens.

* It can be the utility of the thing. But more likely it's the so-called sustenance of permanent cognitive growth, dependent on the rewards being viewed by the kids, not simply for their utilitarian possibilities but for the reassurance it gives them that what they've learned is correct.

* The other thing that I think is important goes beyond the idea that you just set up a system in which, if the kids are rewarded for

learning, they will therefore work harder. It is the idea of the exchange so that the teachers work harder too. If the teacher can see that her behavior is having an effect, she is much more motivated to continue that kind of behavior than if all she gets is a kind of a 'blah' back from athe class.

* We're back to the problem of the teacher being able to take as much gratification in moving a kid this little, if that's what his scope is, as in moving another kid this much. If you don't get that built in, then you're going to get differential love for the kids who verify your goodness as a teacher. That's the real hang-up in this system, isn't it?

* I would urge you not to shake your head the way you did when you said earlier that maybe this is Hawthorne's effect, and instead figure out how to cash in on the Hawthorne effect and institutionalize it, so that today's Hawthorne effect finally becomes habitual.....

* You know, that's being used and it works. It's interesting because we've known in industrial sociology for a long time without really asking what it means in other institutional areas, that in a relatively, statistically randomized set of work groups, the best predictor of the output of the group is the tone maintained by the foreman. O.K., if we back up from that and say that the teacher is the foreman in the classroom and the principal is the foreman in the school, then what one can expect to find is exactly what we found in those supplementary case studies for the Coleman report. We found that although we can make generalizations about how bad inner city schools operate, there are of course exceptions. They are that these schools have principals who have carefully selected and held together a bunch of teachers who got told; "we're not like other schools in slum areas, we're a really good one." And the teachers keep telling the kids, and they believe it. Meanwhile, the kids are learning, you know. One of these schools in inner city Chicago had kids of the kind that we reassure each other come from the wrong places and aren't motivated, and so on. She had kids that came in every morning at 7:45 for a school that started at 8:30 because they wanted to do better than other people and they thought that if they put more time on it they could really come out ahead.

* That brings us back to that question again--how do you reinforce the readiness of most teachers to teach reasonably well and fulfill their roles? What mechanism can be brought into the school within the reserves available? I just don't know.

* One of the things that we can look at is that there are some kinds of extra professional attempts to do this, for example, the Oceanhill-Brownsville situation. One way this kind of thing can develop is to get a group base ideology that says: "now look, we are going to have a good school....."

* You ought to note though that there was probably a higher turnover of teachers including the new ones in Oceanhill-Brownsville than there is in the rest of the school system.

* But at least this is ostensibly the kind of thing to do. What keeps the teachers going is that the school board states that it is going to have a first rate school, and then hires a principal that is committed to it, and they keep that commitment going. I'm sure that if the school board just stops mentioning this, pretty soon even a good middle-class school could be deteriorated--perhaps not as low as an inner-city school could be, but you could wind it down, so to speak, over time just as you can wind it up over time by these kinds of things.

** O.K., two points. One--this suggests to me that if I were a teacher looking for a job I would start to look for a school system that stated that although it was in an underprivileged area it had a good system. That's a pretty naive one. The other one is a question. Presumably group dynamics research has some sort of relevance here. Would you advocate the inclusion of some sort of training for teachers in group dynamics in their training program?

* I wouldn't.

** You wouldn't?

* Not unless you had unprofessionally competent people who could do it.

* In my area it just becomes an excuse for black teachers to accuse whites of racial prejudice, to excuse themselves from all responsibilities in the school system, and to blame race relations on the prejudices of the teachers.

** The fact that it's operation may be methodologically inadequate doesn't necessarily negate the basic idea, does it?

* If you want teachers to become more aware of themselves and what they're doing I have no argument with you. But there are other kinds of things that are now being widely advocated without any evidence of the effectiveness. I want none of those. Now, one of the effective ones I know, is the very simple one that Marty Deutsch has used with some degree of success. You have a couple of full scale photographic and sound tapes made of a trainee teacher while she is teaching. You play them back to her. I understand that in every single case from the best to the worst teacher, the teacher says: "Oh no, I never said such a thing", and on comes the tape and there it is--"O no, I never did such a thing", and there's the movie. You get revelations that way boy, that you never otherwise could get.

* But that's very far from doing sensitivity training. That you've got to do in a situation in which the teacher is not shamed in front of others.....

* And also where you're not undermining the professionalism of the teacher. I think what happens in the inter-racial type of sensitivity training is that you tear the insides out of the teacher's conception of herself as a professional with some kind of an autonomous normative base from which to operate. If it's successful, she goes away with a sense of pretty crude despair--terribly unhappy because her hair is straight instead of kinky, and so on. I've seen this in a lot of our young girls..... I have some school of education people in some of my classes and they are filled with this business of: "I want to help black kids but I'm not black, what can I do?" I say, "you know how to teach--right? Then teach." And I have yet to be persuaded that not knowing arithmetic is somehow better than knowing arithmetic. It is stupid to have a system which, in effect, says somehow "you don't speak enough Swahili or you don't understand what it's like in the ghetto". Much of which is pure 'crock'. Peeling plaster is peeling plaster. It makes very little difference the color of people and a lot of difference the color of plaster. Rats are rats and a lot of people know what it's all about. They may have forgotten but they can be

reminded. And I think we can be very strong in saying that where sensitivity training is used as a way of reversing the racial scales and promoting sadistic revenge--it's serving no effective function for improving teacher relations.

** *If I were a teacher and I had been sufficiently socially insensitive not to recognize injustice and I became aware of it, I would start to feel guilty. I think that what's happening with teachers now is that they're having social injustice made clear to them and being well-intentioned people, they do start to feel guilty. Presumably to this extent they're vulnerable. Now, how can we allow them to erect defenses against this sort of thing?*

* *Well, if guilt gets translated into "I can't teach these kids because I'm a white racist", then the obvious argument is to have only black teachers in inner-city schools. Let's do that and get it over with. But, there isn't a shred of evidence that I know that indicates that that will produce effective teaching. It's just like the police business. It doesn't make any difference in ghetto areas to have black policemen, other things being equal. You get just as many complaints of brutality. You get just as many complaints of poor service, etc., etc. This can happen in the schools too.*

* *Right. I would make little or no effort to deal with teacher's prejudices if I were in teacher training. I would want them to know all the facts about the issues, teach them all the facts. I would also make every effort to get them to see what the role of the fair teacher is, black or white. If one gets commitment to the role, whatever prejudicial layer of beliefs may be underneath, doesn't really matter. The prejudices of white teachers toward dumb white kids is of the same genre as the prejudice of white teachers toward dumb black kids, though it's more intensified by a teacher that is reinforced by a belief in its inevitability.*

* *..... and of black teachers toward white kids. That can be quite vicious too.*

* *You have to get commitment to the role of a fair teacher viz: a teacher never ridicules a child; a fair teacher never expects more from a child than is reasonable to expect under the circumstances; a fair teacher gives equal rewards to kids for unequal products, and*

in accordance with what the kid is able to produce at that time; a fair teacher is always aware of the extent to which she is a factor in the teaching situation and that the failings are not lodged solely in the kid but in the transaction. Those general role commitments run so much counter to any prejudice, that though you get differential weak and strong commitment to the role, depending upon the person's own insights, your only hope for making it on the average across the board is to get that nominal role commitment that will have to be reinforced with sanctions for the role. But if you go after the prejudices in the hearts of teachers, Lord, I don't think you'll ever make it.

* *Well, a really prejudiced teacher shouldn't be in inner-city schools in the first place.*

* *Unless you force them, they won't go there if you don't.....*

* *In New York there is compulsory assignment of young teachers to the so-called tougher schools, because the older teachers who have the right to opt for the schools, choose the one where they can teach more easily. So the young kids however prejudiced they may be, are sometimes posted to the inner-city.*

* *I'm putting together in my mind what we have been saying and it surprises me. Maybe I'm wrong. Let me check it. I think that one of the things we're saying is that we have to accept the parameters of the school system, and that we can't do very much here.*

* *Ray Adams asked what can we say that's relevant to the training of teachers, and we agreed to talk within those terms.*

* *O.K...... I think that within those terms we've set is something which surprises me because what we're saying is that we've got to reinforce the teacher. Who is going to do this? You're not going to be able to get all those wonderful principals. We have a few of them but if they come up through the normal system for selecting principals, that sort of person gets selected out. We're suggesting that these kids, these young teachers, either form their own groups to keep up their 'gung ho' feeling, or that they come back to us, their social science professors, and get a reinfusion of idealism. Is this a role that .....? Is this a role that we're willing to take on? Could we do it?*

* I confess that I don't know how you reinforce that role commitment. I don't know any way to go about it except to say that you could try to reinforce the role commitment.

* Yes, but we're suggesting that it's going to be difficult to do this within the school system.

* It may be impossible, but what I'm asking us to do, is at least consider what could be done, given all the restraints possible, to enable teachers to be better at their task than they otherwise would be, in terms of being committed to the role of being a good and fair teacher.

* As I understand the written charge given to us, it was about the training of the trainers of teachers.....

** Eventually, but our position is that we ought to know how to train teachers before we train the trainers of teachers.

* Well, I think among the things that one has to do is simply deal with the fact that the teachers who teach in the inner-city schools repeatedly come back to university. And when they do they seem to say: "Goddamn it, the law makes me come back here every summer and I never get anything that amounts to a damn", which means that the trainers of teachers either don't know what they're talking about or don't know what to do.

Now, at least you have the institutionalized procedure. There is, in effect, a kind of compulsory attendance law for teachers, right--or they don't get promotion and recognition and so on. Now this is a gigantic institutional resource which has been, from my point of view, totally frittered away.

* That is what I was getting at. Is this what we ought to restructure?

** All right. The education people yesterday admitted this, and advocated themselves that teachers should come back when they feel the need for specific kinds of refurbishing.

* We should look at this the way we should look at the compulsory attendance law for first graders, O.K.? The balance between liberty and coercion should be looked at in a more sophisticated fashion. If you have a system which now somehow gets to you a large proportion of the population you want to reach,

then for God's sakes be very careful about fouling that up. Just because you haven't been doing the right things with them when they came, is not a reason to say; "Let's make it voluntary", because if we push this logic further we would say that the way to solve the problem in the inner-city school is to only have the kids who psychically want to come--and to hell with the rest. And I think this is very bad. There are certain advantages of coercion.

** In fairness to the educationists, they didn't want to leave the system unchanged, they wanted to change what was offered as well.

* Well, fine.

* You know, you've got to be a little cynical in designing institutions. If you gave up the pressure to get those teachers back to campus, they won't come. It's like when the teacher's union goes on strike and says: "Well, if we had another thousand dollars a year, we'd be freer of psychic pressures and we would teach better." That's a bunch of baloney. I used to be a union steward. It was a bunch of baloney when I said it for my welders in the welding plant, and it's a bunch of baloney when teachers say it. It's a bunch of baloney when doctors say it, and it's a bunch of baloney when anybody says it. What they want is a thousand bucks. And this is just a rhetoric that is useful. Or take the new thing now, which is the 32 hour work week for teachers, a four day work week, so that the other day can be devoted to professional advancement. My eye! They're going to pump gas! Everybody knows what they're going to do. They're not going to advance a damn thing. They're going to rest a little from the combat maybe, and take some nice job like a watchman or a cop or something.

* But that's no argument against seeking a four day week. That's something else.

* But it's going to get harder and harder as teachers negotiate tougher and tougher work bargains, and work less and less for more and more money. We may get to the situation where none of this makes any sense.

* We're almost getting to the point of saying that the schools

of education should deal with nothing because they can deal with nothing, except what you say when you face that class--and this may be the least relevant thing.

** O.K. Now this is a point that I'd like to see elaborated, to what extent do you prepare teachers for the other extra-mural activities of teaching, which are nonetheless part of the teaching role; for example, interaction with colleagues, whether formally or informally, within the system; interaction with the union; interaction with the superintendent; and things like that? Because the implication of your statements would be that these are important things.

* Now look, we've all taught graduate students and by and large got a higher level of professional commitment to the ideal role of the professor. How do we do it?

* Good question.

* I'm not sure we do it. I think maybe they come with it.

* We're not doing it very well anymore.

* Everybody in our profession pretends to be involved in some active research. Everybody pretends. It may be true for five per cent of the population but if you ask somebody the question that is recognized as a legitimate one: "What are you doing?", they have to say" "Well, I'm working on....." --right? They do this as a part of the professional role. Most of the time it means they're reading something, but that's beside the point. Now, how do you get that commitment? That seems to be a very valuable commitment. It says that one should be ashamed for not being professionally productive. How do you get that commitment? Because that would be a miraculous change in the high school teaching population if the equivalent commitments were reflected there.

* Apparently it is widely believed that you can't progress in the profession if you don't present that image of yourself.

* And there is structural support for it in that most schools require some demonstration of professional growth? O.K., so we're back at the absolute necessity of maintaining enough structural pressure in the secondary and elementary schools of making professional advancement contingent upon some version of professional growth.

Let me reinforce this with a personal reminiscence. When I taught at Teachers College, Columbia, I knew from the beginning that the vast majority of the people coming back after school (you know, 4:00 in the afternoon or 7:00 at night) were there to get additional credit hours to get their supplements, so I said: "I know what you're here for, or some of you, and that's O.K. And I know that's the extent of your motivation and that's O.K. too. But I'm going to act as though you damn well cared about learning a lot more to be a better teacher". Making it that explicit was dangerous because it could have been done without making it explicit. I then kept to it. Now they acted as though they were there with the highest professional interest and they responded much more than they would have if I had said: "What the hell? We're only here for 3 additional credit hours. Let's play it at the lowest possible level of coolness."

* ..... or if you had made it voluntary and they stayed home.

* If you get the captive audience throught the structural pressure, you can get some amelioration of the system. Maybe only 10% of the teachers are only 10% better than they were before but that's a gain. All right, that's one. Now, if you are going to ask what to keep on doing, the next is to get the union leaders to collaborate with you. They have to agree to a system in which they present at least a public image of concern for professional growth and development, not just unionism. They've got to present an image at least for the moment ofbeing committed to professional growth. Thirdly, I would say, start professional growth earlier. It's a common suggestion but it seems to me, indispensible and hardly used. Get your teacher candidates into the inner-city classrooms at the earliest possible opportunity--for several years while they're going to teachers college. Join that with making it a rule in your teachers' college that your teachers of education are required every fourth year to spend one semester in active observation of inner-city schools. In this way you get a constant feedback so that when a professor is asked by a student teacher: "What do I do when a kid does this in a class?", he can answer in the terms other than some nebulous philosophical statement about love the child. Teachers are presumably teaching methodology and there is

methodology to be taught. I'm not against methodology courses but I'm against bad methodology courses. Teachers have to learn what to do when confronted with the problem. To young teachers the most dismaying thing is that they come to say: "I don't know what the hell to do except keep order, and grade them like this, and say go to the principal's office and do that." And, a few weeks of that sort of experience and anyone becomes a cynical old teacher. I don't want to cut out the liberal arts education, but I want them in the classroom early. And I want their professors either to get exposed or expose themselves by going to the classroom. Then I think you will again improve maybe 10% of the teachers by 10-15% of their own capacities--which would be a great growth, right?

** I'm interested that you also said that when the professor goes back he observes, that he doesn't teach, which, I think, indicates astuteness.

* I couldn't take over a classroom. He shouldn't be required to, but he should be there all the time seeing what the teacher has to do.

* Some of this kind of thing can be done through role playing. If your school of education is in Columbia, Missouri, and the inner-city schools are in Chicago or East St. Louis, then you have the problem of just transferring people back and forth. But some training stuff can be done in role planning sessions. There are other substitute technologies too. One of the things that I tell students is that if they really seriously want to be teachers, particularly in the very early grades, that they should find some way to get hold of a child; go work in the local orphanage; go hire out to a family for 50¢ an hour; do something so that they will have to have sustained contact with a child. One of the interesting things about teachers is simply that these young girls have never had contact with any child. Now, they're filled with generaliaztions about 'the' child but they don't know a child, and they've simply never developed a capacity to relate to a child. Now, children differ from each other, O.K.? But, until you can handle the problems of relating to one five year old on a sustained basis, how can you relate to a different kind of five year old? Teaching is like

plumbing--there is no substitute for pipes and grease.....

* Let me return to the question about how we get our professional commitment among our graduate students. It just occurs to me that our graduate students go out and teach immediately after having been exposed to a dozen different role models of college teachers. They've had three years of intensive exposure to that. Now teachers going to public and private schools for the first time, go out some 4-5 years after their last experience with a school classroom. They do not have active live models of teachers to emulate. What they have, and it's horrible to say it, are the models of their teachers in their own classrooms in the teachers colleges. I don't make any brief for liberal arts teaching being any better than teachers colleges' teaching--it's probably just as bad in its own way, in terms of what you ought to expect out of people.

I remember fashioning myself directly on teachers I admired. I wanted to be so smart that no student could never put me down. I got that from my family but I got that also from having a certain university teacher who shall remain anonymous. I thought he knew everything. It turns out he didn't, of course, but I thought he did. I got a model of scholarship from him--you know, to be able to work in German and French and other languages and to know these other materials and know historical materials. I felt I would be shabby and superficial all my life unless I got to know all that stuff. That's good to have, you know, because there's a level of shame below which you dare not sink less you lose all respect for yourself. You get that, it seems to me, from active emulation of a real model. Our elementary and secondary teachers don't have that kind of exposure, partly because of the lack of recency of their models and partly because of the admittedly lower level of professional competence in the teachers colleges. You should not take that as an offensive remark, but only in the way, it seems to me, that blacks ought to take the observation that the history of their development has been such as to render less of them ready for professional roles than the whites by virtue of the advantage system.

* To take another point--I thought about this when you raised

the question of how we send out our young professionals with that attitude about research. As you pointed out, we send them out after they have spent the preceding four or five years being where everybody respectable can answer the question; "What are you working on"? And, the most respectable ones can answer in the most interesting ways, and most often. When these kids go to teach, you see, the comparable thing (if it were working) would be that they had been in the part of the university where all the time they're just getting awed by top-notch classroom teaching. Well, that's a hard part of the university to find, and I doubt if it's in the school of education.

* Well, the students are exposed to master teachers. In theory that sounds good. The question is whether you have enough master teachers working with inner-city kids in an adequate way to provide enough decent model. I'm not sure. It may be that you have to go into videotapes and all other kinds of simulated conditions. If there is a master teacher, you ought not to try to get that master teacher around personally everywhere. That's impossible. But you ought to have him on TV for all kids to see what it means to handle the situation. Not a contrived one so that you get a super performance under artificial circumstances, but you get a master teacher working under very hard circumstances and working naturally and well.

* My guess is that probably after five years the average teachers has less real sense of the centrality of the professional role than say the average carpenter of my father's generation. Carpenters went through a whole series of stages, each one marked by, on the one hand, graduation, into a company of prior superiors and on the other, by a required set of performances which were performable and judgeable. He worked very directly, did a lot of things, but the central thing was to be received into the company of other craftsmen. The builders now tell the contractors; "Don't give me any of your fancy craftsmen. Being me a guy with a hammer and nail and if he doesn't hammer so straight either, it's all right."

PART II

* There are several things that we have to deal with. It has been suggested that we must spend time on disabusing the minds of educationists of some of the falacies that are being perpetrated at the moment by certain (well-intended) sociologists. However, there's one question I would like to ask that arises out of the last discussion we had. We were talking about the fact that the teacher was trapped in a system and, to some extent, in the same way the kids are trapped in the system, too. Question - To what extent do you think the teacher should expose the nature of the system to the kids so that, in fact, if she is circumscribed by institutional forces in what she can do in her teaching, should she tell the kids that this is the way that this particular institution plays its game? Should she also tell the kids that this is how it is in society--that this is what's going on and whether we like it or not, this is what's going on? In other words, should she become a sort of a kind of a social analyst of both the institution, her classroom and society?

* I think not.

* You think not?

* Yes, I think not. That surprises you, doesn't it? It did me, once I realized it as the question was being asked. The reason that I think not, I think, stems from the kind of people who do that now and I don't know that we want to encourage that. I mean, there are sociologists who teach sociology, mathematicians who teach mathematics, English professors who teach English, and there are some in each of the three who spend their time explaining to the students that it's a rotten system and that's why they're not allowed to teach them well. It seems to me that we ought to be encouraging the people to teach well what they're supposed to teach, rather than explaining to the students why they are not able to. What I really mean is that I don't like this as a major agenda item, that is saying to the teachers: "now, your job as a teacher is to explain to students why you are not able to teach them", you know?

** I'm not suggesting a major job but I think if, in fact, the students are becoming aware, (whether we're talking about tertiary level *or not) of the fact that there are system constraints operating and they don't like them, and all the time the teachers are acting as if there were no such thing, then you've got to face up to the possibility that the kids are becoming smarter than the teachers. So what are the teachers going to do about it.*

* *I expect we can't have any really good disagreement about this which is why I tried to jump in early. I thought the fact that I don't want to encourage what I think is the worst approach to this--which I've tried to describe, is saying the reason I can't teach you is because New York has a rotten school system, you know, instead of saying - "Now, the way it goes is two and two is four, you know, and that's what you need to know".*

* *I'm sure you would agree, though, that if you have a firm commitment to a notion that you ought not to be using the exams under the competitive grading system but the school requires that you give them and if you have made it clear that you're dissonant with exams and you see what a corrupting influence they do have, and you tell them I can't do anything about it because the school requires I hand you in grades, and it would be a shame to hand you in all A's because I might as well give you all F's. But you also know that you're working with other teachers for reform and now that they understand the nature of the system, they may wish to do something about it also. That sort of exposure to students, it seems to me, is perfectly good.*

* *Fearless friction is empirical. I went through that business last Spring in my big race course at Northwestern and I had a big deal with some of the students in the class. I told them that I am required by the regulations of the college to give them a final exam and grade based on it, and I'm going to do it. I'm also working on a committee on educational policies to do away with our present grading system and that kind of requirement, and any kind of help they wanted to give would be fine. And a committee came to see me asking - "Are we correct that it would help you a great deal if we boycotted your final and didn't get credit in the course?" And I told them no, they were not correct. And I came back to class and said that I expect the faculty to abide by regulations when I vote with the majority. Therefore, when I'm in the minority, I'm going to abide by the regulations. That's a*

faculty rule that I have to give a final on June 6, and I have to turn in a grade on it and I'm going to do it, and don't kid yourself that you're going to boycott the final and get an A because I sympathize with what you want to change about the grading system. As long as I work inside the system, I work inside the system. But I *told* *them.....*

* *It seems to me, though, that if we get away from the college level or even perhaps the high school level and get down to the elementary school level where I think all the critical issues, in a sense, lie, I think this kind of thing leads to a really solid form of mutual seduction between the inadequately prepared and rational teacher and the inadequately prepared and rational pupil in ways which neither of them are capable of understanding. That is, the sort of thing that is being described here where a rational professor, fully understanding what he is saying. talking to a rational student fully understanding what he's saying about issues which have some definition and which they can discuss - this is one thing. But the formation of sort of little counter transferance subcultures in the first grade which lead to a kind of notion that - well, let's sympathize with each other, you and I, because we're both outcasts--I think this is a disaster. This is very easy to do you see, because it's going to be hard work to teach those kids even in the best organized school elegantly modern and everything. I think it's particularly corrupting if you allow the teacher a kind of 'out' which says, well, you know, - let's just you and I sort of alienate together and clutch each other ot our bosoms and so you don't end up with two and two, but somehow this isn't so corrupt.....two and two is corrupt. If you get so far, you know, two and two is one of the perfect examples of western colonialist - mentality being forced on the mystical wholeness of the east, right? Because everybody knows since you cannot divide things into sub-units, how can you add two of them together?*

* *Stop. STOP!*

* *Students talk about this sort of thing, and again, my answer is if you're teaching in India, make it in Indian, but we don't have India. We have St. Louis or Chicago and a lot of places. Two and two here is very valuable.*

** *All right, but if you get back to the tenth grade level where I* *think the argument could be put a little stronger with denigration of the point that you're making at all. What about the society, because very shortly the kids are going out into society. Very shortly they're going to be the end product of the school system. They're going to be able to attribute, to some extent, either rationally or irrationally, their vocational success or failure to the school system they've just left.*

* *I think the school has an obligation to tell the students the truth and if the truth is that society is not what it's cracked up to be, that's the way it goes. But I think also at the same time, it's the teacher's obligation to educate at least broadly, within the culture we have. One of the great problems is that enthusiastic, social reforming school teachers are often very inadequate muckrakers and they commit as many mistakes and greivous errors on the muckraking side as are committed on the other side.*

** *I like the qualification.*

* *One hesitates to say - No, don't have them do it differently because they will do it just as inadequately as they are doing now. But it's no real gain, and it may be a loss for so-called liberal virtues and causes if you put a hell of a lot of energy into a reform which is just as disastrous in its consequences as the energy that was put in to conserving the system. And before you say let the teacher share with the students an understanding of the character of their common bondage or imprisonment, I would want to be reasonably sure that the teacher was reasonably competent about this. Ego turned loose in the classroom is not a pedagogical influence as far as I can tell of any kind that you can use for benign purposes. And much of this reformist stuff is turning ego loose--or even worse, turning it loose in the classroom.*

** *Okay. No fundamental objection whatsoever. I will admit, if you'll forgive my saying so, to the feeling that underlying your discussion is an innate distrust of the competency of teachers and a well developed contempt for what teachers are capable of doing. Now, my position if informed by a somewhat counter view that teachers are capable of really being quite good, given the right training.*

* *I think we would share that. I think I distrust, and this is*

based on present evidence, not on a sense of congenital incompetence.

* Mine is partly based on the fact that I'm not really fundamentally convinced in my soul of souls: that this is the most corrupt of all possible worlds; that in an age when every warm body in teaching has a Bachelor's Degree, that they all constitute leaders; that they all constitute charismatic figures; that they all constitute Christs, that our children should be encouraged to follow. I think what you get with mass Bachelor's Degrees is mass charisma and you get a kind of notion, you know, every teacher - the great complainer, and you know, I don't know who nominated Sadie Glutz to lead the children out of the wilderness. Periodically these things happen in history but, for Christ's sake, not with our educational system. And I think that they should examine the economic system; that they should point out difficulties in it; that there should be classes in social problems; that they should have discussions of racism, of Afro-American history from.....; that they should transmit these as knowledge; that they should point out the differences between our ideals and our realities. They should also point out some other things; like while we're yelling and screaming that we're raping the world's oil resources, we're also driving our cars; and that the kids will all drive or fly to Washington and burn up half of what's under the ground in Kuwait, to get there to scream and yell at exploitive capitalism. Now, these things, also have to be pointed out. I have no great faith that whatever you do, you're going to produce, in large numbers, little girls who are going to be able to handle this kind of situation.

* Well to take another angle. The teacher in the classroom can do very little more for a black kid's faith in the society than arm him with some knowledge of the best he can do, and secondly, arm him with an understanding of what it means to be black in the society. There are two ways of doing this. One of them is being done, to my great distress, by saying that we are all guilty, we have kept you down in bondage, and we're a big guilty society, and that only only gives the kids grounds for anger but it doesn't equip them, it seems to me, with that kind of understanding about their situation which enables them to translate their anger into effective social action. If that teacher, instead of courting the anger of the black kid, could arm that kid with

a systematic understanding of what it means to be a Negro in American society, (not from personal testimonial but from an examination from the massed data), and an understanding of the probabilities of Negroes getting a chance against whites, and of the two different time perspectives one can have--from the point of view of blacks for whom it's 300 years too late, and from the point of view of whites for whom anything in the future is too soon--but a systematic understanding of what it means to be black en masse. That's a kind of an understanding of the situation which may enable a kid to stop blaming himself altogether for being the victim of society; for being the fool who doesn't succeed. And, that's important--that kids who are going to fail should know they've got some system odds against them, so they don't come down feeling totally defeated. And, secondly, to give them some understanding of how it is possible, or may be possible, to overcome or alter some of their situations. So sharing that understanding about the character of our society is crucial, and *__that__* *I think a teacher ought to do.*

** *That takes a fair level of skill.*

* *That's right. That's right. I'm not sure that will come from the state-wide syllabus of Afro-American history that the teacher is being given and says - "Yuk, another thing I have to teach!"*

** *Can you do it without becoming a full-fledged sociologist nonetheless?*

* *Yes, I think we can. If in this field, as in all other fields, there is much more collaboration than there has been in developing adequate teaching materials that are reasonably teacher-proof - programmed instruction.*

* *This reminds me of something I thought of earlier when we were talking about how teachers should really go in there and pitch. I think it may make more sense to think about teachers as managers of classroom activity, more than teachers in the traditional sense..... Well, first of all I think that kids learn better on their own than they do listening to a teacher,* *__if__* *there are things they can learn from, and from interacting with. If you move in that direction so kids learn to work more autonomously fairly early in school, then you have a lot more freedom in what you can expose them to without worrying*

about the teachers lousing it up. If they learn to read or to watch little TV screens where you put programmed instruction or lectures or whatever, then you have much more control over the end result.

* *You see two of the major structural defects of the schools can be handled by programmed instruction if it's done well. One is the capacity to individuate education because the machine doesn't ever loose its patience, if it's well programmed. And, secondly, you get a lot of content into that, that the average teacher simply can't manage herself.*

* *You know, I used to hold my hands in horror--"Oh God don't destroy a personal relationship between two live, warm bodies". You know it doesn't do that at all. What it does do, if you have good programmed instruction with good machines, (and we're going to move into that era, though this isn't a suggestion for your teachers now, except to attune them to the value of this for themselves) - is that it will really free teachers to be able to spend those kinds of moments in supplementation of programmed instruction where the human touch is necessary. If a teacher tries to be humanly sufficient for everything a machine can do, she's got to fail with 20 or 30 kids in the classroom. I think the machine really gets rid of two major obstacles: individuation and lack of versatility on the part of the teacher.*

* *So the teacher becomes not so much a teacher as a coach almost.*

* *Right.*

* *Okay, but this calls for a special kind of ability too, because here she is exercising a whole variety of choices for a variety of kids constantly throughout the day. Now, what sort of a person has she got to be? What sort of training has she got to have? What sort of capacities does she have to have developed in order to make these kinds of decisions, and handle all decision points of the class that are coming up so rapidly?*

* *In some ways it cuts out a lot of decision making, I would think, because they do let kids go on their own. My youngster is in a kind of mixed-up, modern, progressive operation now and has this IPI math.....there's a really magnificent library in the school too (from which I am getting a whole new education). My 10 year old kid is*

bringing home stuff. His present teacher is very good at this because she is just a kind of relaxed person who realizes that the kids will do pretty well on their own. She prods them and keeps them going mostly. Though one of the things she has to do is to stop them once in a while because they'll really get going on these programmed units and that's all they want to do. My son is the leader of a cabal that keeps three pages ahead of everybody else in the class in math. There's not much the teacher can do about that except what she said. She said: Joe, look, I know you're doing a lot in math, and so on and so forth, but you're neglecting some of these other things, you kind of have to do a little bit of this, at least. Under those circumstances I'm just amazed at how many things can be going on that classroom simultaneously.

* *With IPI.*

* *Not universally, but enough so that thers's always something for the ones to do that aren't doing something. There is always something ahead. So it provides a set of options for the kids which partly reflect their moods and partly reflect the organizational necessities in the classroom. They kind of shift from one to the other. It's more organized than it sounds. Most of the time they're doing something which is also educational, yet they don't have really any great sense of continuous constraint because there are enough options provided. But they never really waste a lot of time either. If you really look at the thing with a cold eye, they're almost all working all the time and there is such a variety of things they can be doing. Of course they're bright kids and the parents are providing all the push that the school doesn't provide.*

* *We're talking here really about what the kids learn and how they learn it and it seems to me that you're likely to be considerably more interested on the topic of what the teacher has learned, what they take with them huh?*

** *Yes.*

* *And that's what your program is about?*

** *Yes.*

* *You've got four years to get at people who are going to go out and teach.*

** *Right. The implication of the present discussion is that if* *you've got teachers who are going to do individualized instruction, how can they be provided with the means for organizing it and being able to work freely within it? Now, it seems to me that's an educational problem. The educationists are going to come up with the organizational solutions for that.*

* *Yes, but isn't there another problem? Isn't there the problem of not only what you can't do to train the teacher to do, because of the teacher's quality. And this is really a problem of recruitment.*

** *No, that does not come under our control at the moment.*

* *Well, aren't there any kind of screening devices?*

** *Yes but this is where I'm being sort of single-minded again in my focus. I'm saying that given whatever selection device exists, even if we recognize that it could be improved, we've now got the teachers, so now we've got to work with them.*

* *Can we alter the mix, however, when we get them with the students? This is, I think, partly what we were talking about this morning, in terms of controlling the propartion of younger teachers, newer teachers, who will be in a given school?*

** *Only insofar as we can control where our students get allocated during their practice teaching. That's all.*

* *That's all the leverage you're going to have?*

** *Yes. Now, as far as this program is concerned, we'll certainly have other leverages in other areas, at other times, and other places.*

* *There is a lot of interesting complexity in this whole business of social exposure to curriculum. It relates, it seems to me, to a lot of the things about, you know: "groove in the ghetto," and all this kind of thing. I have two observations. One is that most of the black educational leaders that I think of as really putting out in this area, don't really want white school teachers to be grooving in the ghetto. That's not really the big thing with them. The second thing is, you run into a very serious problem and that is: over the lifetime of a particular child there isn't going to be a helluva lot of revolutionary change. So you're always in this damn dilemma that maybe all you're doing is training for despair. And maybe what you are doing then is in some ways, undermining the kid's*

ability to make the contribution in changing the society that he might have made if you didn't. I don't know any way out of this. It's like the old business about don't force the middle-class culture off on them. Well, when all is said and done, that's about the only one we've got, if you define that broadly enough. You can't communicate Tanzanian tribal culture. We can't do a whole lot of other things. It's not very helpful to have an alienated teacher grooving with alienated kids even at the high school level, it seems to me.

* *You've delved into what I was trying to say before. I think that we can't keep on talking about how we would teach elementary school kids or high school kids when we aren't going to do it. We're going to teach teachers. Isn't that what the program says? I would think it would be worthwhile if we could spend a little time talking about what we, as sociologists, think those teachers ought to know about sociology which would help them teach.*

** *Okay. How would you help them?*

* *We mentioned a couple this morning. I'd like to hear my colleagues'view on this. Nobody ought to go out of an education school with a certificate ready to go into public school teaching without knowing that: 1. there isn't any evidence whatsoever that people differ in ability by race, or by class, to cope with the kind of curriculum we have in our public schools, and if that's the only thing out of our discipline that all public school teachers got, I would be delighted.*

* *And when they got it, would heed it and would not forget it!*

** *That's right. That would be a great deal for a teacher to know--not to have to question himself or herself about that, but to know that there is no scientific evidence that class or race is a good predictor of whether one is able to learn or not.*

* *Well, we may not know much, but we do know that.*

** *We know that it is not known.*

* *Okay, we ought not to get hung up on that. I think there are three equally good hypotheses about race differences. They are that any given race compared with any other is: 1. superior to, 2. inferior to or 3. equal to the other race, when the race is traditionally divided as it is now. Since all three are equally good hypotheses and none is*

proven, none can be preferred and so you've got to choose your educational orientation on the basis of something else besides skin color. That's no dogma(?). But it follows that there is a corollary. In fact there are two things--one follows the corollary and the other thing goes along with it. The one that follows as a corollary, is that in the nature of the case, given the differential distribution of advantages in the society, even if all kids were equal in ability, the present system, as it now operates, would throw kids into your classroom who have different capacities, for a variety of reasons, to absorb the kinds of things you think they ought to absorb. So, differences will be present, right? Then the second thing which follows, or that goes along with it, is that even if there were equality of advantage so that no one came in differently prepared or differently motivated, nature would present you with differences--okay? So, under any conceivable circumstances, including the best one, namely the total equality of opportunity, you will be teaching different kinds of kids at different levels of ability. So your commitment then is, how can I do the best by ***all*** *of them then? If teachers could get through those steps and realize why their commitment is to doing the best by all of them because there is no basis for discriminating among any one of them, then I think you'd have a first-rate orientation in class. And that takes a long time to get across, because people keep saying; But if they're different, shouldn't they be taught differently? The point is that real equality of education means total individuation of education. And, that's not just a motto. If every child is unique, then every child's education may have to be unique to some degree, though for many things you can treat all children as being alike.*

* *By the way, it's very interesting that John Dewey - bless his much maligned soul - really was right in a lot of things. I don't think we've even been able to figure a way to feasibly put into effect the things that he had to say.*

* *I'm sure he would agree very strongly with this kind of argument but it got taken over into a kind of soft-minded, mushy-headed business. Even with the kind of cautions that have just been stated, education is still hard work for the teacher and still is a job that*

has to be done. Oftentimes the more individuality you allow or encourage, the harder it is. It isn't a substitute for good teaching and classroom managing. In fact, the sort of alternatives that were put to everybody--you were either a conservative and worked hard or you were dew-eyed and loafed--were reversed. In fact, if anything, it's just the other way around. The conservative teacher works less hard than the really good progressive teacher. It's the really gung ho modern ones who put in all the effort and who do all the work.

* *There are some other things that need to be said in terms of biological determination. Whatever it may turn out to be the case from future researches in molecular biology, (and I don't think it's very promising at all--nearly nine months now looking at every bit of evidence I can find) nobody is anything by nature where anything is defined by an 'ism'. That is, he's not a communist, capitalist or socialist by nature. He's not a monogynist or a polygynist. He's not an atheist or a deist. He's not a fascist or democrat or anything, by nature. But all the major patterns of behavior which are problematic in the world to one group or another, are man-made patterns. This means in effect, that the responsibility in the intellectual process for kids is to understand how people become to believe that way, how they come to act that way and what the consequences are of behaving and believing that way, rather than explaining it away by saying - that's the way those people are by nature. That will present a range of difficult intellectual problems, both to kids and teachers, but at the same time it will eliminate some of the worst, false stereotypes by which people believe that they explain differences between themselves and others. And that includes, of course, between boys and girls, men and women, blacks and whites, French and American, Jews and Catholics and Christians. None of these are by nature.*

** *Now you are putting in a new content that I presume does not envisage what was said in the discussion that we had earlier. What you're suggesting about each curriculum is that there should be some part of the curriculum for kids and perhaps, I think, for teachers in training, that deals with problems like this.*

* *Oh, yes.*

* *I'm starting at the other end and saying that there is no use*

talking about what we're going to do with the kids if we haven't taught teachers to think the things we have just been talking about.

** Okay. Well, we want the kids to get this as well.

* Oh, yes. That's crucial.

* First we've got to get it to the teachers. As long as we're sending out teachers who don't know the two things we've been talking about in the last 10 minutes, that is; (1) what the scientific evidence is on difference in ability to perform and its distribution by race or class, and (2) that the critical issues that they read about in their Weekly Reader and in the daily newspaper on the 'isms' are learned behavior. If they don't fully appreciate the curriculum is going to be for the kids because the teachers are going to convey misinformation.

* Yes, they'll not only not be able to convey it but they'll turn some kid off and let the other kids know: you know, "what do you expect from a dummy? That's the way he is." And they convey strong attitudes that way.

* It may also be necessary, particularly in training the teachers, to counter what has become the new biochemical despair, the new neurological despair--not so much that the undesirable differences in people are biological but that the undesirable characteristics of homo sapiens are biologically determined and that, in a sense, while there is equal hope for all of us, there's no hope for any of us. You know, the Arthur Koestler business which shows that we have a hunter's brain and we live in an urban society which is all very well, but the implication of it is that either we all get decorticated or to hell with it all, right? I think that I see this attitude coming up. You know, a few of the kids have a little sophistication in this and they say: "well, what can you do with man?"

* Kids? My foot, this is colleagues. They read people like Morris and I have to spend weeks educating my colleagues as to what's reliable evidence in the social sciences. It's staggering what people outside the social and psychological sciences are willing to accept as evidence about man.

* Well, because they assume that there is no science of man to start with, therefore you don't invoke those criteria.

* *And they read the popularizers.*

* *Exactly, and I see in some of the bright, inquiring undergraduates, the kind of notion that somehow man is just that kind of animal, so what can you do? It leads to the decline of that necessary, though sometimes unwarranted, optimism that was stated so well this morning--that you really have to believe you can make a differnce even though somehow you don't see much from day to day.*

* *Let me introduce a fact that's on a very despairing note. I think it's terribly important for teachers to know, without somehow sharing this view with the kids, that the ideal, liberal, democratic kid, is probably the most difficult human type to create and sustain of all other possible human types. To take an unsocialised amorphous mass of protoplasm called a kid and try to build him into a person who is considerate of others and cares about them and has some principles of morality and believes in sharing--all those things that we believe to be so virtuous in the liberal democratic code--that's a very difficult kind of thing to do. We should show the teacher how difficult that is so that she won't be so damn tough about apparent defections.*

** *Should they even be attempting to develop it to any great extent?*

* *Sure, that's our society's commitment and I would think that's the teachers' obligation to favor that set of values against others.*

* *Okay, but how much of her time should she devote to this?*

* *Well, she doesn't have to devote a lot of time to it; it should be built in to the way she runs the class, the way she does things, and when she says: "Johnny, you shouldn't be doing this, or you should be doing that," or whatever, she should be doing this automatically. You don't have to get up on Monday morning and say - All right, this is liberal democracy, share, care, and hair right? It's just the sort of things you want to do. You learn how to run committees in a classroom, study groups, and so on, so that they kind of work things out with each other.*

* *But that's not an important central function of the school....*

** *This is what I wanted to get clear because of course, education hasn't necessarily gone along with this.*

* *I know, but that's part of their problem. You see.... You*

can teach democracy without anybody ever really being able to prove that you didn't teach it. But if you try to teach mathematics or spelling or reading or writing, it's very easy to prove you taught it.

* But, you have to make a distinction between the teaching of democracy in terms of models in your own conduct and organizing the class to the extent possible within the democratic framework so that the kid gets modeling and practicing democratic living without you ever being explicit about it, and only as techniques while you're doing other things, as against the secondary thing which the intellectual understanding of the meanings of a democratic, political and economic system as against fascism as against a monarchy. There is some room for explicit teaching when comparing political, economic and social systems all along the line. But that's different than what the educationists' emphasis has been. I think that they've displayed it too unilaterally. They've tried to provide a living model in their own behavior what you mean by being a fair, honest, decent, moral person but without letting the kids practice it and make their own decisions. If you just talk about being intelligent and informed decision-makers and you don't let them practice it, you're just not going to make it. Now it's quite possible in our teachers, from kindergarten on, to make a mistake in terms of letting the kids make too many decisions on their own instead of getting them into the habit from the earliest days on, of participating in decision-making. But this has to be with due regard for things that are relevant and that they're somewhat competent at doing, for you take a risk on their competence, because you surely have enough power to sustain the consequences of their incompetence before it gets too serious.

* I would make one qualification to this. That is, don't let them decide not to learn how to read and write.

* If on a given day, on a given hour, some kids show a real lack of interest in the particular thing you've assigned, if the school at all makes it possible, you should be prepared for doing something else.

* Fine, but there are kids who will, in effect, opt out of education. And you have a duty, just as a doctor does, to say: look, you can ask me to do anything you want except let you die. For I know

perfectly well that I can help you. The doctor would say: "I can't force you to not let me let you die, but I can tell you that I don't want to continue as your professional physician because that's one thing I cannot let you the customer decide.....In some sense the teacher has to know what's good for the kids - more than kids know. I don't see any way out of it, but on the hour to hour and day to day business it's O.K. But the ultimate thing is that the kids have to know how to read, right? And it could be that on this hour, these words have to be learned.

** *Would you add anything else to the list besides reading and writing?*

* *I would be very happy if all inner-city so-called deprived kids at the third grade were up to third grade national norms in reading and writing and arithmetic. And I don't mean the old autocratic concept of the three R's and the birch always standing in the corner. I find it very difficult to worry about how much they groove with Charlie Parker if they can't read and write.*

* *Here's where we have some disagreement because I'm prepared to entertain alternative ways of kids coming up through third and fourth and fifth grades. I'd be very happy if some of the kids by the end of the third grade felt sufficiently wanted and relaxed in school to start to learn how to read and write by then.*

* *But sooner or later, the world's equivalent of the Regent's exams shows up.....*

* *Sooner or later is one thing, but if you start imposing national norms on a bunch of kids who the more you impose on them, the more you're going to have to stamp them as rejects--as not making it. They will retreat further and further, and you know as well as I do the consequences of this. One of the things I would like to get teachers to do is to feel relaxed about all kinds of ways that they and the kids can start making it. If they could think of their colleagues as being in the same process too, by the fourth or fifth grade some kids would be making it who otherwise never would.*

* *You know what's happened with pushing kids up through the third grade. Then the reading norms go way down because the hold-over value past the third grade is very dim, even on the Head Start Program.*

*   But here then, is where you get back to the whole notion of total systems. It's difficult to advise a given teacher what to do unless she can rely on everything fitting together in some sense.

*   This is not an authoritarian position but ultimately somehow, (and this is particularly a problem for the very poor kids from very poorly educated backgrounds), they've got to be trained in these skills. I don't know enough to know whether some of them should wait until the sixth grade or what, but you run serious risks with their futures, it seems to me, if you don't somehow begin to gradually see to it that they get to know how to do these things.

*   O.K. I think there's some guidance that will enable you to decide which of these various ways you want to go. From what we know of socialization, I think we might commonly agree, is that you don't grow on failure. No one grows on failure, right? That means the curriculum must be structured for every kid in such a way that, with effort, he can achieve the task. If you have that task so far above him that he's got to fail, or you have a grading system that says 50% must fail, you're writing off 50% of your kids. Adopting a success orientation means that some kids will succeed in one way and some will succeed in another. So there has to be a common appreciation among the kids, that there are a variety of different ways of learning, and only a good teacher, visibly loving all kids equally however different their development--visibly esteeming all kids equally can have some chance of communicating in the classroom the sense of the rightness of differences without the need to make the invidious distinction between fast learners and the slow learners.

*   There is a role here for education schools to try to shift thinking about accomplishment--away from norms and toward absolute measures. I understand there is a new testing theory that is called the Domain Specific Testing which simply says; never mind about what the average score is and how many standard deviations above or below you are, sample the universe of things you want people to learn and then see how much of that they know. You then have an absolute measure; for example, "I can spell 'X' per cent of the words that exist in the English language."

*   ..... which I am very much in favor of.

* It should be from norms to standards.

* Well, the criterion becomes, what is reasonable to expect this kid, under these circumstances in this school, given me and the other kids, and given his own background to be able to accomplish. And so long as you always keep that higher than you think you ought to put it, because your tendency would be to underestimate it, then I think you can approach kids in the way we have been talking about. It's very different than saying our school is below national norms. There are many schools that ought to be below national norms, but 50% of the schools have to be below national norms.

* This is really the statistical absurdity of the whole idea.....

* Now wait a minute, that's not literally true.

* Fifty per cent below the median, okay?

* Fifty per cent of the schools are not below the median. Every school in the country could have a median for all of its kids, a median national score as its median, right?

* It could be that all schools could be at the median.

* If all schools had an equal distribution of all kids from all levels.....

* But it turns out now in the United States that about 50% of the schools are below the median.

* That's a measure of how segregated by ability our schools are.

* And by input. The input figures, aside from the Coleman report, will explain a good deal of that variance.

* But you also get into the situation that this is a classically protestant way of organizing pay-offs; that is that God is infinitely unreachable and see to it that he infinitely unreachable because you recreate him every year so that no matter how close you get to salvation, the statistician comes along and puts you exactly where you were when you started. You see this, by the way, in upper middle-class kids. This is one of the real problems that we have with our upper middle-class college students. By any reasonable standard, they're fantastically well educated and fantastically well prepared and yet they have this sense of - My God, you know, "I'm never going to make it, I don't know anything," because somehow they're at the bottom of the norm which gets set up by taking the top one per cent of the population.

So they're the bottom of the top of one per cent and they feel defeated, alienated, overpressured, and not knowing what to do to be saved.

* It's also a kind of suffocating device for teachers too, because no matter what they do, no matter how hard they try to improve, there's norms going to be shifted and they'll never seem to be getting anywhere.

* I would like, however, to enter a demur. I think that you having very likely been the beneficiary of a good authoritarian education, where people were required to measure up.....

* A typical protestant education!

* No, just a typical school. These were typical schools. I think I would like to exercise considerable care about this notion. How it is to be done, it seems to me, is one question, but to create in the minds of new teachers that it is other than of central relevance that so-called culturally deprived kids should learn basic skills to a solid functional level, would be a very bad thing. It would be bad because it would be very easy for them to say: "Aha, you see I'm really warming to them so it doesn't matter that in the sixth grade they don't read....."

* All right. I'm only talking about the real relevance of affectiveness, openness, to learning as a condition, for adequate and durable learning. And I'm saying that for some kids you're going to wait a long time, given the conditions of their lives and the kind of victimization they undergo before they get to the school and they see around them every day. It's going to be a long time before they're affectively open to caring about learning.

* Okay, but at the same time there is also the problem, isn't there, of the perceived relevance of the task. The kid being told to read and write, doesn't necessarily dig it, because it isn't relevant given his context. His parents don't have any books, they don't worry about reading and writing, and so on. Question - To what extent do you need to cover the teacher's awareness of the social forces that are inhibiting her behavior?

* I think the teacher should be very acutely aware of it, but this should be attached to an educational philosophy which says at the same time that it is a terrible disadvantage to that kid if he doesn't

read well, write well, and do the things that the society wants people to do well, regardless of whether it's relevant in his home or not.

* *Well, besides it is relevant in this home in the sense that all the evidence suggest that, contrary perhaps to 30 or 40 years ago, at no level in the society do parents believe that education isn't vital for their children. There used to be a time when it was different.*

* *A slightly higher per cent of the black population that are polled today say that education is important for success against a white population.*

* *There would be a higher percentage of the black students than white students in Junior High who would like to go to college.*

* *They buy the cliches of America now.*

* *Yes, but there is also another thing too. In some ways one of the penalties that the society inflicts on blacks is that there is a fantastic shortage of non-collegiate based opportunities--brick layers, sheet metal workers, etc. A lot of white people say that you don't have to go to college because they're going to go into their father's grocery business or they're going to drive a truck and make $12,000. a year as an over-the-road truck driver. They're going to be like my nephew who wants to be a printer, and he's going to finish high school and he's going to be a printer, and my old man has got him into the typographer's union, and that's what he wants to be. That's what he's going to do and he isn't going to college. And I wail and scream and yell and he says: "No man, I don't want to do that. I don't like the books. I want to make them - I don't want to read them, right?" And, okay, he'll have a pretty decent life. Now almost all of those non-collegiate avenues, non-educational avenues, are closed to blacks. And in a sense, one of the consequences of being black is that it is necessary to get an education to make it in the society than if you're white, because there are whole career channels that are closed.*

* *.....other than the two big routes that used to be visible, namely professional athletics and professional music.*

* *Yes, so ultimately we'll see, I think, 50 years from now, our descendants will be sitting saying: "What are we going to do about all those Polish kids who got trapped in the skilled trades? They don't have high enough motivation to want to go to college, and so on. Now the blacks, they're fine." You know, every sharecropper who comes*

up on the Illinois Central--zap--right away he wants progressive education, and so on. They're all taken care of, but a lot of these others are in so-called ethnic mobility traps, you know, it looks great for a while but then eventually--doom. They're starting to send their kids to special schools and to schools of education as a typical immigrant avenue. I can put these things into a cliche formulation which I find very useful because it has some initial shock value that really then opens up the whole question. When the teacher starts sounding off they say: "That's not a motivated kid. What can I expect with his background". Now there's a way of putting this which reverses an old idea. Tell the teachers to teach kids in terms of: "Where there's a way, there's a will," instead of the usual one: "Where there's a will, there's a way." This means that motivation has to be created. If I could get teachers to know one thing, I would say: "You have to create motivation." It isn't residing there waiting to be booted out, it's got to be created and nourished. That means you have to provide successful experiences on tasks that are seen to be relevant.

* You're saying: 'show the way, create the will."

* That's right. Make the way so that the will can emerge, because goals which have been proven proximately available and gratifying in the process, promote the end of achieving. That's what 'will' arises from. When you do that over ten thousand task-specific situations you get generalized motivation. For many kids there is failure at every one of their ventures. So you've got to create the way in order to create the will. Otherwise, teachers turn them off again, you know? Because that's the great American doctrine: "where there's a will, there's a way, if only you really wanted to."

* You could rephrase the statement you're making: "if only you could, you would."

* I think this could be put in a way which would make Skinnerism more humane sounding, rather than put it in the kind of hard line rhetoric that's been done.

* Then we have another sociological perspective that seems crucial here; in that the goals have to be desirable to the actor, if he's going to act on them. A lot of us make the mistake of asuming because we

think they're desirable, they're desirable to the kids. You're talking about this stuff being relevant, if the kid doesn't see it as relevant or desirable, it's going to be a hell of a hard job to get him to work and achieve. If teachers will remember that the kids, especially the most problematic kids, probably do not share their motive and value system in nearly the same way, then they'll be out to create motives and values, and not simply to lecture them.

* I was saying to you at lunch that there are things that we take for granted, as professional sociologists, that I would like to see conveyed to public school teachers before they begin to practice. I'm not sure that if we could only convey one that it wouldn't be Thomas Aquinas's dictum, you know, "people behave on the basis of what they believe to be true." I mean, if people really understood that, really believed it, and really every day evaluated things on that basis, that would clear up a lot of a public school teachers' problems. Instead of asking first, why does he act that way, and casting the answer in the framework of what I believe she would ask; what does he believe.

* You can turn another American cliche around right here and it's useful for hitting teachers with. You know the usual doctrine is, "seeing is believing." What we now know for sure is that "believing is seeing." Once you know that, that believing is seeing, then you always ask; what is that kid believing? By the way, I've copyrighted that. No stealing. (Tumin's Patent. (Ed)).

* I'll steal it.

* I think Jerry said "Believing is seeing".

* No, he didn't say that, no sir, you've said it in a dozen different ways but nobody has said it in those three words. I own those three words.

* He said, it probably isn't true.....

* And he's wrong!

* Well, to what extent will all this emphasis now on para professionals, communities and decentralization feed into this for or against it--in the light of what we've been saying about the emphasis on the part of blacks on sending their kids to school?

* I don't think it's going to make much difference one way or the other. I don't know that they really have that much to do.

* *Can it be really neutral?*

* *Which is the 'it' that you're talking about? Oh, the community control business.*

* *Aside from the uproar that may go on for a little while while the thing gets settled from the old system into a new system, (as in Oceanhill-Brownsville) then I don't think the kids are going to be learning either more or less.*

* *Well, we can say insofar as the available evidence is concerned, because Ed Gordon (a Negro psychologist at Teachers' College) has just had somebody review all the data. I've looked at his review and I've added some of tha data too. Even taking the most fugitive commentaries into account; it ain't yes and it ain't no. There just isn't any way of saying in general, that close or non-close or intensive or non-intensive participation of black parents in the school system can be shown to have any consequence at the moment in terms of the intellectual productivity of students as traditionally measures.*

* *What about the para professionals? That's the other part of my question.*

* *There I have a very different notion as to the utility that can be made of them. But on this one, on community control, don't let your teachers get hung up either way on it. If you want to experiment in community control and need the parents to get more active, it might juice up the system, but they shouldn't get faddist about it. They shouldn't think that we've now got the great deliverance any more than sensitivity groups are the great deliverance.*

* *If they want any social science word on community control, it's right back there at, remember, that people behave on the basis on what they believe to be true. If parents in a community believe that their kids are getting screwed by the school system and believe that that could be changed if only they went to meetings twice a week, okay, so have meetings twice a week.*

* *Now on the para profession issue, this is something that I've been concerned with because how do you organize a classroom in a school so that you can do some of the things we think are desirable. You know, we talk about individuation, and usually we talk about programmed kinds of devices for doing this. I think that there are advantages if*

we talk about individuation in terms of the kind of flow of social information. We say, you know; what does the kid believe? What's on his mind? Well, how does he feel about all this? How is he experiencing this whole situation? It seems to me we get into a very serious problem because knowing that kind of thing, it's extraordinarily difficult under any circumstances. My guess is that probably the number of people about whom a teacher could know all this, (particularly as it changes in individuals and sometimes very rapidly), certainly can't be many more than five to ten. You know, the whole business of individual differences and meeting children's needs and all this sort of thing, comes a cropper simply because these are organizationally unknowable. How do you organize the relationship and the flow of communication in the classroom so that these can in some sense be knowable? It's a problem essentially of social intelligence. How do you find out how Johnny feels? Now, there are the relational problems. You have to get through the fact that maybe Johnny has a big stake in not letting you know, okay? But there's also just information flow. Of course, if you have 35 Johnny's, well maybe you can get to know how one or two of them feel, and if you're a motivated teacher you try to pick out the most problematic ones, but the rest of them you're not going to know much about. It seems to me that one of the big functions of the para professionals is to provide sub-nucleated relationship systems in a classroom through which this kind of information can feed, so that then the teacher or whoever is in charge of this operation can have some sense that there's an organizational mechanism for, in fact, including individual differences as a regular part of the job--particularly affective and attitudinal beliefs. Prgrammed learning gives you individual scores at the end of the week, but it tells you very little about what the kid thinks about and a whole lot of other things. It tells you very little about why one kid's score was low at the end of the week and one kid's score is high. You have to go behind this kind of thing. It's just insane to stand a girl up in front of 30 kids saying 'Know thy children.' How? There are none of us who knows his own kids--really, fundamentally, deeply, in the sense that somehow we would like to do it. None of us even knows our own kids and we live with them all the time.

* *On the other hand, that's no less than we know ourselves.*

* *That's right, okay. But it must occur to most of these teachers after a month in the classroom that these cliches that say - know the kids, know their needs, know their differences - are just impossible. They don't have the courage to say: "up against the wall school of education, I'm going to have to do something else," because you know, this is what the professors told them to do. So they must feel like jackasses and failures. How can anyone know these individual kids unless he has a knowing system, and that has to be an organizational system?*

* *Now this leads to another question that I've been harboring. We have been talking pretty much in terms of public school systems. We haven't said so but we've implied that. Now we have a very large parochial school system and one of the things in the back of my mind is, how have the parochial schools been doing it all these years? Not only just that they don't have to take everybody and they can slough stuff off the worst kids and the failures, and all the rest of it, but they've been working very often without the kinds of technical and training aids that we would think would be necessary. For instance, they have very large classes, particularly in recent years, sometimes 60 first grade kids. Forty is standard....*

* *In Trenton, New Jersey I had 55 per class in the parochial schools.*

* *I've seen the classes that some of my nieces have gone to and I've raised my hands in horror, except they can read and write perfectly.*

* *Now wait a minute.*

* *You know all the research on class size and the relation of class size to effective teaching has only yielded a big fat zero.*

* *That's right. And it's one of those absences of correlation that you know damn well is wrong for some reason. The measurements are right as taken but you know there's some reason why the conclusion that difference in class size doesn't matter, is wrong.*

* *Maybe it's in all this business about affective relationships.*

* *Maybe it's in the teaching that goes on in the classes.*

* *Given the teaching, given the curriculum, given the kids, it*

doesn't much matter. There's one place where I'm sure it matters though and that is if you have a bad teacher. The larger her class, the better off we'd all be, because then she would dilute her badness over a larger number instead of concentrating it on a few. Never put a bad teacher in a small class.

* Yes, but let's move beyond the class size, which I would tend to agree with. In parochial schools, the teachers aren't terribly well trained in a technical sense and they're not paid very much, (one day we may have a strike in New York City. The salaries are really scandalously low).

* That's because you get nuns working for 'zero'. That's why you get mean salaries that are very low.

* Yes, but one of the consequences by the way, many of the much maligned nuns (many of whom deserve the much maligning, right?) are committed teachers. They may not be sophisticated, but many of them have seen teaching as the device for lifting their children out of the bondage of ignorance. And in a convent you can unashamedly say this, right? We are going to bring the word of God and you have to read because if you don't you can't get through the Baltimore catechism and if you don't do that you go to hell.

* Yes, but what does.....

* That's straightforward. Murder for the teacher. It isn't very good for the kids but it really keeps the teachers hopping.

* Yes, but apparently it does work.....

* What works? What are the comparisons?

* It doesn't work in terms of learning religion but it works in terms of at least getting the reading, writing and arithmetic....

* Are you sure about that?

* How well?

* I'd bet that on the average all private schools in the United States have lower norms than the public schools--lower achievement with regard to national norms, and that includes fancy private schools. I would just bet on that.

* But the parochial schools, I think, have two things going for them, at least the more traditional parish program, not the high schools so much. One is that they really don't expect a hell of a lot.

I mean, we are, in a sense, arguing about levels of achievement for the culturally deprived that 10 or 15 years ago the average parochial school would have considered outrageously high. You know, they're going into the factory..... The other thing is that you handle certain kinds of problems by Draconion social control which defeats other kinds of things, right? You know, they're with Pickett's charge. There are still parochial schools where every month the kids are reseated, in terms of the marking period. The kid with the best grades gets to sit at the right front, and you go down, and the kid at the left rear, is the kid with the worst grades. Every two weeks this goes on, right? You can imagine by the time this has gone on for three years that kid in the left rear seat can't even imagine himself being anywhere but in the left rear seat. The failure becomes an institution. He would be a betrayer of everything he holds dear to try to move up. In a sense we're setting much higher standards than this. I think another thing is, they don't spend much time on fancy stuff and they just do a lot of plain drilling.

* *Jensen would explain it. These schools do well, and Jensen would explain it by saying that they have hit on the method for teaching people who don't have abstract intelligence.*

* *You can get a lot of mileage from learning by rote.*

* *Yes, and as a semi-formal way, but the tradition that produced Thomas Aquinas, cannot precisely be described as a tradition of effect in abstract intelligence.*

* *How about the tradition that produced Saint Augustine?*

* *Well, he was all right too.*

* *He's nice too.*

* *See, that's the motto for all the kids for today, you know. Enjoy life like hell and then when you're too old to enjoy it anymore, repent and become holy--all right, never mind.....*

On para professionals, I don't know how to do this, but surely sometime soon, and it's just beginning now, the use of auxiliary personnel, on a quasi-professional level, has to be trained in the teachers' colleges or somewhere like that, for the real introduction to the class of people who will perform tasks that the teachers traditionally spend time on. Get the para professionals to handle that in a way that is exciting and interesting to them and brings other personalities into the classroom. This would allow the teacher to at least teach individuated groups. You know it's working some places. Surely that's one of the great assets, both by way of bringing black and other so-called underprivileged peoples in on an adult level into the classroom and in making the classroom a better place to be. But I think you've got to really train teachers on how to use para professionals because they feel cut down if you take part of their job away.

* It would have to be set up in some kind of an organization whereby the teacher becomes more the master teacher or a supervising teacher. And, in order for that to really work, the people who start in at the bottom have to have a realistic built-in possibility, as they gain experience and outside training, to move up into those positions, because that's the payoff.

* Which means that one of the best sources of para professionals is ed school students, right?

* No, no.

* Well, now wait a minute, let's not go whole hog, because one of the things that we want to do with ed school students is to create a supervised experience in certain kinds of activities.

* Well, I'm taking it for granted that these kids are going to be in the classroom all the time so that in the classroom simply would be an experienced teacher, a training teacher or two and some para professional personnel.

* Well, okay.....

* It wouldn't be devoid of the training teachers. They'd be there right from the beginning. Which also leads to another one of my problems and that is the prestige issue. The school teacher is like the ward attendant in a mental hospital, or a patrolman on duty. There are many schools where teachers are clearly lower prestiged than physical plant personnel, for example, just in terms of who has a say in things. If you put people below that in the hierachy para professionals, lots of student teachers and so on, you automatically upgrade the prestige of the teacher. But that also means that you have to train them to be able to manage not only five year olds and six year

olds but very complex relationships with adults.

* *Then there would be these young teachers who are managing older women and older men, and that's a very touchy situation.*

* *But if, as is suggested, they're in the schools all during the period when they're also getting their college work, by the time they go out on their own as full-time, full-fledged teachers, they'll be both experienced and comfortable enough to take on that supervisory role.*

* *There are important ways in which I think what you say about this gratification of personnel is not true, and....*

* *You would bring up something like that.*

* *I think that's a very dangerous kind of assumption to make. There's a lot of that University of Chicago occupational sociology involved in that. So, I would be very confident that if you interviewed a sample of school teachers and a sample of school janitors, and asked them: "would you like your daughter to become a school teacher or a school janitor", that you get an answer skewed in one direction and not in the direction of the janitor.*

* *Oh well, sure, but at the same time, there are schools.....*

* *How about the power distribution?*

* *Acting as though the other person really didn't count may be a different story but I think you'd be right about the theoretical measurement of prestige. On the other side though. I was at the Educational Testing Service the other day, and the janitor walked in and turned off all the lights in a whole big office. Everyone just sat there for a moment until someone said: "why did you do that?" and he said: "Well, the electric company just called us up on the phone and asked us to please stop using light for a couple of hours." He never bothered to ask anybody at all. He just walked in and flipped the goddam lights!*

* *So there's more than one dimension. But in some ways one of the big problems you run into in the public schools is the difference between the inside prestige of the classroom teacher and the outside prestige. Outside they're professionals, etc. blah, blah, blah. The schools of education built them up. It's a big deal. Inside they're the hands.*

* I would put that a little bit differently. In the power structure, under the distributional prestige in the system, teachers have a pretty decent fight for their prestige in the system, except for I would say, the superintendent. But outside one of the real restraints on motivating teachers, that makes it different from college professors, is that it is believed that anybody can teach. Parents believe that they can do what a teacher does, so what the hell is the point of really taking the lead from the teacher. And one of the real problems we're finding now, isn't it, is that while we acknowledge the legitimacy of the participation by the public in the debate about the school, it is a big struggle as to what are the proper areas of relevant participation for whom in that debate. The teachers tend to minimize the area of public relevance and the public tends to maximize the areas of relevance. That has to be articulated somehow and one of the things maybe, is that it would be wise for the teachers to be much more generous about the areas of probable relevance of parent participation. That is, they should do so until they get much more expertise at their command. You see, we professors can say: "don't try to tell us how to run it because we know the subject matter." But I think that a parent who knows how to add numbers can tell an arithmetic teacher: "I know how to add too"--you don't have to tell me about adding and reading. I can do that."

* The new math takes care of that, by the way. The new mysticism takes care of all of that.

** Does the demonstration expertise bring prestige?

* I think to some degree. It's also a question of power. I keep going back to my notion on the schools are a big bureaucracy and the way you measure a person's power in a bureaucracy is how many subordinates has. That's the only reliable measure, right? The guy who has the most power, the most thought of, is the guy to whom everybody is subordinate. I think one of the real difficulties in schools is that the only people subordinate to teachers are pupils. And insofar as there are real problems of status, of worth, of power, and so on, the teacher tends to gain status either by distancing from the students--I don't want to be included with them--or by savaging the students--I'll show them who is boss. Then because she has to show herself she's a

boss of something, right? And I think this is a very real problem, at least under some circumstances.

* Let's share with you the criteria of professionalism that sociologists have developed. It seems to me, would be good for teachers to know. Help me out. One is autonomy. The other is the code of professional ethics. The third is a presumed high level of recondite skill. Fourth is self-regulation with regard to sanction. There is a fifth criterion.....

* .....A regulated mission to the craft.

* .....Okay, but licensing or regulation to craft. Now we have: sanctioning with regard to deviation from standards, a code of ethics, a high level of expertise and autonomy with regard to the continuous growth and development within the profession, of your own levels of skill at the task. Now the teachers are always saying they're professionals. And you have to ask whether you want to build an echelon of professional teachers so defined. Some of those criteria present some real problems, because insofar as it is publicly paid for and in the charge of the public, the question is to whether they ought to, in fact, enjoy the same kind of professional autonomy that the so-called free profession does--like doctors or dentists. It is really a debatable question. And this is where much of the resentment between the public and school teachers comes--in the degree of autonomy they ought to have with regard to the school. I don't know how to resolve that one. That's a real question. You see, in Europe no one in his right mind would think of questioning a school teacher as to the proper conduct of his class--not in England, not in France, not in the Scandanavian countries. They're treated there with the same kind of distanced respect that we're treated as professors in the university. The assumption is that these are real professionals who are really committed and who really have an expertise.

* But in most European schools they have very, very little autonomy in the organization.

* Well, that's because there are national codes of conduct that are prescribed from a national ministry and a nationally prescribed curriculum.

* There's a kind of corporate and bureaucratic autonomy with

respect to the public, but there is very little individual autonomy.

* But then there is very little room for individual evaluation of creative teaching in the sense that there's a prescribed curriculum and there are national codes and national examinations to be administered. But the prestige of the teacher is much higher because of the assumption of real expertise.

* You know, if we were to apply some of these criteria to the local public services my guess is that firemen would come out, very high--in terms of autonomous decision making, they know how to put out fires and we don't, therefore we'll agree with them, In terms of a code of ethics and the sense of committment to mission that the community can appreciate we respect their integrity. We don't worry about their self-interest, and so on. In terms of some other things you would probably end up rating firemen higher than anybody else.

* Except the level of skill is not considered very high. It may be considered peculiar or unique, but not very high.

* But it's considered unique in the sense that almost no one goes around and says I know how to put out fires in a complicated factory, right? Whereas a lot of people do say: "what's this, two and two?" The whole problem of professionalizing in, around and subordinate to a big organization is a very different kind of thing, it seems to me. And you get into some very complicated kinds of issues here. But certainly on the para professional thing I would say that there are several functions that this can perform. In a sense you should always adopt multi-functional innovations if you can because they are so damned hard to adopt anyway. In general, I think that where they use the para professional idea to pull parents into the classroom or as a device for apprenticeship experiences for new students, or use it as a way of decentralizing contact with the kids and so personalizing it, all of these things seem to be good things.

** Do you think there's a case for distinguishing the educational organization from other organizations or do you think there's a lot of transfer possible from insights and understandings about other organizations?

* Well, except that schools are more rigid and there is less individual freedom allowed for the typical school teacher than for the

typical big city patrolman--I mean that quite seriously.....

* I think there are significant differences between schools as formal organizations and other formal organizations. All formal organizations by definition have some common structures--including that there's always the presence of an informal structure which subverts the formal structure--O.K.? But there are significant differences because if you look at the mandate given to the schools in our society no other organization is like that. Namely, in some sense if you take it literally, the mandate is to create kids who simultaneously have two capacities: (1) to live in the society as they find it, and (2) to change the society for the better. No other organization is so ordained. All others are either housekeeping institutions or custodial institutions or protective institutions of one kind or another, even though they may also manufacture and distribute goods and services. And, secondly, the relevance of the public at all points in the conduct of that organization and the accountability to the public at all points, is another at least quantitatively different characteristic of the school as compared even with the police or the firemen.

* But there's no authority you can't appeal to. Have you ever heard of a kid appealing a test score?

* No, but I'm not talking about that. I'm not talking about the kid's place. I'm talking about parental and teacher participation insofar as it is the right of the parents to participate in the election of the school board officials and the allocation of the budget and decisions as to what should go into the curriculum. Last year over the country, for instance, more than half of all the school budgets fail on the first election where they are voted? Who else ever did it but the public? You don't get that kind of a crack at the police. You get that annual crack at school budgets.

* Again this makes the system more accountable. The teacher is less, in other words.

* This is related to what we were saying this morning which I thought was very good about the educational system being our state church. It's almost a residual category. Everything is assigned there. If we don't know what else to do with it, we think the schools ought to do it.

** I interrupted you before.

* Well, I have a suspicion that teachers can conform to the model of the free professional, the better the school system and the higher the status of the kids. Which suggests to me that teachers are allowed to function as real professionals when the output that they're supposed to be producing is really desired very much, so much that you're willing to let them do it the way they want to do it as long as you feel they're giving you what you want. This is just as you will do with a doctor or as, in fact, industry will with chemists and other physical scientists who they bring into these enormous, highly bureaucratized corporations, and then give them a great deal of freedom because they value what they're producing. If on the other hand, it's a paint company that only wants chemists to test paint, they don't give them much freedom. In a sense, the degree of freedom the teacher has is in a way, a measure of how the group with the power relevant to that school values the output of the school.

* It's also, I think, to some degree, closely related to the degree of freedom the kids have in individual development. I think it's also, to some degree, a consequence of the system's knowing that neither the teacher nor the kids, given considerable freedom, will, in fact, violate the basic expectations of the system. It's like the question college students ask: "Isn't there any place where students have real power?" And I say: "Yes, West Point." They really have power at West Point. They can put each other in the brig (for all purposes it isn't stated formally that way) but they do fantastic things to each other. Why? Because the superintendent of West Point knows that the student officer corp will never do anything outside the basic limits of a very high level of military discipline, right? So, there is fantastic student power, and I think this is true in middle-class suburban public schools. Why is the teacher given a lot of latitude and why are the kids given a lot of latitude? Because you know they're going to end up well educated.

* May we turn to other things that, as sociologists, we know might be of some help. I started off by suggesting some general criteria of social action that are useful for any teacher both in her own conduct in class and what she teaches. Now let me take another. No event ever

occurs except as the result of a multiplicity of causes. And as the other side of the equation, no event ever occurs which doesn't have multiple consequences--at least some of which will be negative for any given end that you may have in mind. So the mixed character of consequence of human action and the multiplicity of sources of cause of any set of behaviors is an important corrective against simple-mindedness, both for the teacher's own conduct and the material that she teaches. It enables her always to keep interest in conversations by asking: "What else might be relevant here," and always to be aware that what she does might be benign for some kids in the class, but might knock the hell out of other kids in the class. That much, we and all other sciences have learned about human affairs. And the lay public doesn't know it, or if they do, they certainly don't ever show it.

* The innercity environment is our ultimate focus here. I think, from a couple of recent experiences with large gatherings of public school teachers in Chicago, that it would be very helpful if we could get across to teachers what institutionalized means. The most obvious example I can think of is the notion that nobody really has to to anything to have race discrimination in American society because it's already set up. Now the teachers are taught to talk as if there are large numbers of full-time bigots, and that bigotry is a very exacting occupation where people get out of bed every morning and say - "I'm going to discriminate against some Negroes" - you know. I think if kids are going into this kind of area to teach, they ought to know that that's not necessary. All you have to do is let it alone. It was already there. It doesn't take a big public program to have discrimination. It takes a big public program not to have it, but it doesn't take any program to have it. It's there, and this kind of a concept of institutionalized is one of the things we probably teach least effectively.

* And by the way, rather than looking for individual villains or for sick people, they should learn that we have normative patterns of serious problems in the United States.

* And the question is not who is the evil man who caused this to happen.

* .....against too ready attribution of personal causation and personal responsibility.

** Within the social system would teach them manipulation of the classroom as well?

* Well, the more inter-personal the more face-to-face the system, the less likely is the evidence of large scale institutional forces to be evident in the actual operations of the system. If people want to come to understand why they're behaving the way they do, one of the ways, for instance, is to ask boys and girls why they behave the way they do--why boys should behave one way and why should girls behave another (without resorting to biological differences). And you get some constants, like mostly: it's the role of the boy and the role of the girl in the society, deeply institutionalized which governs their relationships far more than their feelings about each other.....that's badly put.....which governs what they feel about each other and how they come to feel it even. Get the idea across that institutional forces, role structure, account for most of our similarities and most of our differences. There's a lot of kids that don't like that. Nobody likes to be made a sociological unit. So you get typical humanistic objections; "don't make me just a number." But when you start, if you really take a count, an inventory, of how much you're governed simply by the normative roles that you've come to accept because we never learned any differently, there's precious little left to you that's of any interest to anybody except somebody who happens to be in love with you and makes believe that what they see in you is unique. Thank God for illusions which enable people to get together outside their role structures.

* We are talking now about institutional racism. As I understand that term, it means simply that unless an enormous effort is made, nobody has to be prejudiced. But the problem is that it then gets retranslated into the personal. What is a good diagnosis then gets turned and personalized again so that institutions are now treated as persons who are full-time bigots--and then, you know, you're right back where you started.

* You also run into something somewhat similar to this, junior high schools particularly where the militant young leadership will require

of every new white teacher a great confession of guilt. An acceptance of this can, in a sense, put that teacher down psychologically in a classroom. If the central issue of life is to find that the kids are right and you're wrong, then comes this crucial question of can you ever feel that you are right in any other matter.

* *That's another thing we've learned in sociology that a lot of people now have come to know. For a teacher I think the important thing is that it's not important what she feels. It's important what she does. And nobody ought to be asked to qualify on the basis of the goodness of the internal hearts, but only on the basis of how they behave in public.*

* *But, they're very commonly asked to do this.*

* *In this sensitivity training they are going after their internal feelings instead of their external behaviors. It's based on the assumption that if you change their hearts, you're going to change their behavior. What we know now, is that if you change behavior, you'll be much more consequential as far as others are concerned and over time, feelings may come to be too costly to be sustained and they may get changed in accordance with the behavior. I think we learned from Myrdal and others before him, that you don't have to wait to change the hearts of men before you change the actions of men.*

* *There's something that makes it hard to be a mother or father that also makes it hard to be a teacher, namely, kids don't do what we tell them they ought to do, they do what they see us do. You can sit at your dinner table every night and say there will be no goddamned profanity in this house, but you'll be wrong, you know. You can tell them all the time but the kids are going to behave on the basis of the behavior they get the model from. And that's why it is so much more productive to let people's hearts alone and tell them it's very rewarding not to discriminate, and very punishing to.*

* *But the kids are going to look and see how people behave in their society.*

* *Okay, gentlemen. But what do we do about the classic confrontation that comes when the really savvy sixth grade black kid sits and he sees the new school of education product taking over the class and he raises his hand (he can speak maybe three different dialects of English and he*

chooses whichever one he wants depending on the circumstance), and he says: "Miss Jones, what's a white mother-fucker like you doing here?" and he doesn't look angry. He's just asking - after all, he can ask questions, - I mean, the implication is, - we can ask questions, can't we? What do you tell her to do, gentlemen?

* I know one answer. I don't know how satisfactory it is but I know what I'd say. I'd say: "George, when you catch me being unfair to you as compared to any white Jew, let me know."

* I think that's the kind of thing various students ask, and they're not getting very good answers. First of all, until the Democratic National Convention, most middle-class white people didn't know that word. I didn't know they didn't know it. I first learned it from lower-class southern whites in the Army. I didn't know it was supposed to be a black term until a few years ago. But, supposing the kid just kind of keeps going?

* Here's where you're suggesting that keeping kids in the school and making that school try to figure out ways of handling all kids and make them all tolerable. Fritz Redel once put it to me when I had a moment of enthusiasm for requiring people to deal with heterogeneity. He said you can't set any level of heterogeneity in general for any task. Always the question to be asked is how much heterogeneity is positively functional for this task and how much homogeneity would be, given the values you want to maximize. Now that ought to be said of tasks and of classes and of schools,--given certain sets of resources, unless you really want to increase resources, that's not a reasonable solution. Because often you can't increase resources. It may be that you have to diversify your task and diversify the kinds of insights so that you can manage those tasks better. If you have kids who are systematically infecting the classroom for their own understandable but terrible ego needs, and making it impossible for you to be reasonably fair and just to a bunch of other kids, there's no inherent obligation to put up with that and say: I must suffer that. That's a mistake. And principals often don't know what to do. They often say; take that kid back and remember a good teacher is the one who sends the least number of kids to me down in the office to deal with. That may be a good criterion because you ought to try to work out problems, but

there are some problems that just go beyond reason. After all, if we feel in our family life that we sometimes can run for help to somebody, to an analyst or a psychiatrist, why should a teacher be all-sufficient in dealing with that enormous diversity? If that kid kept asking that question, you know, really trying, and the teacher really didn't have the resources with which to deal with it, she ought to confess that she doesn't have the resources and share that with the principal. And maybe that kid ought not to be in that class. I don't exclude that as an hypothesis.

* I'm curious as to the consequences of the apparent fact that these kids that we just define as behavior problems, are at least in some schools defined as black leaders.... You see, there is a kind of politicization occurring. We're talking about a kind of innocent, naive, sophisticated professional, but the world is getting so goddamned complicated out there. The kids are so incredibly sophisticated in many ways. They may be ignorant as hell, I mean, the kid probably couldn't read mother-fucker if you wrote it on the board, but he can say it.

* Let me tell you a story. Twenty years ago when my brother started to teach in a school, in what was known as the jungle of the New York school system--that's where all new teachers were put to start out with. He walked in his classroom the first hour of the first morning and he saw nobody was in the classroom except one kid, and he walked in and the kid said; Hey, my name is Harold and I want you to know, if Harold like you, all right, you gonna do all right. If Harold don't like you, you not gonna make out, understand?" This is a 14 year old kid. My brother says; -"yeah." Then the kid says; "OK, all you black folk come in." And all the kids came into the class. Harold had kept them out there. Well, what do you do under that circumstance? You either get rid of Harold if he proves to be impossible or you co-opt him. (It proved to be possible to co-opt Harold). You didn't use him as a tyrant over the other kids but you used him and he became a kind of a quasi paraprofessional in that classroom. He found a proper role in which he had a little bit of power which the other kids didn't resent.

But I'm only suggesting there are different ways of doing this and that the heterogeneity can prove intolerable, and that different teachers will have different levels of tolerability and manageability. And one of the things, by the way, in teaching and teaching principles that ought not be expected, is equal performance from all teachers. If you're going to have a range of kids, you're going to have a range of teachers too. And some teachers are simply not up to tasks that other teachers are up to. They ought to be helped up there if they possibly can, but some will never make it. You've got some inspired teachers and you've got some dull teachers. You know, you've got alive teachers and you've got dead ones. You have to have different expectations for them too, once you've done the most that you possibly can within the system. Some teachers can handle 30 tough, alive, gregarious, intellectual kids and some teachers couldn't handle three like that. So, you make judicious assignments.

The distinction between prejudice and discrimination, we were talking about, is an important one. And if anyone wants to know the truth about how you can change behavior without changing the feeling, ask anyone when was the last he peed in the street when he felt bladder pressure--you restrain even your basic biological impulses in the interest of certain norms and other values like acceptance and things of that sort. It's quite clear. We learn to do that all our lives. We defer certain kinds of gratifications and control impulses. I'm sure there are many other aspects of organized social life and their relevance to schools but I would mention just one. I would turn to ability grouping. I'll tell you, as far as a "no no" is concerned this is it. Or rather it is a "don't know." All the evidence I know, (and this is based on the one panel study of ability grouping that Passow and Goldberg did). It's called "The Effects of Ability Grouping" and is published by Teachers' Colleges--about three years ago. It's based on a five year panel study and it says that there are so many variables that determine the intellectual productivity of any given classroom with different kinds of kids, that neither homogeneity nor heterogeneity can be said to be more or less productive in general. This would be a function in part of class size, in part of teacher preparation, in part of what the subject matter is, in part of the range of heterogeneity, in part of how early the kids had been exposed to being with different kids, in part how you utilize brighter and duller kids to help each other to work together--a whole range, 17 variables they list. Teachers resert this because they think it's easier for them to teach the relatively homogeneous class against the heterogeneous class. Even give the fact that there are no demonstrable differences in the kinds of values that you're cultivating when you separate the sheep from the goats. Now, we don't know about the durability of that kind of value stigmatization because it may occur in a dozen other ways anyway. But here one has one saving grace in that the school is never supposed to correspond to the lowest level of discrimination engaged in the world outside. That's based on another principle. Schools are not places where you practice evil, schools are places where you teach about it. You don't practice fornication, adultery, drug addiction, you teach about them. The distinction between teaching about and rehearsing for is a crucial distinction, because when some people say let's get realistic about this, you have to resist. You don't want to rehearse for the worst do you? You want to rehearse for the best if possible. So the distinction between teaching about and rehearsing for is crucial. To come back to the general point about the separation of kids into different ability groupings, given our lack of knowledge about the actual conditions under which productivity is likely to be greatest over a range of values. The only comment I would now make would be two things: (1) teachers ought to know how uncertain this is in spite of their common sense feelings to the contrary and (2) some sense of experimental innovation in trying out of different kinds of teaching ought to be developed so that as practicedteachers and as adult teachers they wouldn't get hung up on any one of them, or think of any one of them as a salvation. I want to make this a more general point. So little really is known about how to do things better than we now do them and so many serious commitments of resources can be made that might be wasted in the name of good innovation, that no major investment of new resources ought to be made in a school until you have had innovation of an experimental basis and with evaluation. One of the key principles for teachers to learn is that the participant in the experiment is the worst evaluator of the experiment. I don't know how *you can get that into their head because everybody, especially art teachers, think that they're the only person that knows what's going on so that they have to evaluate what the outcome is. But they're the worst possible observers of their own conduct. If you can teach teachers that, that they are the worst evaluators of their own teaching outcomes --not that one doesn't want information from them about how they feel about it and what did they do and so on--but the evaluation has to be by somebody who doesn't have a vested interest in its outcome--that's the crucial thing about evaluation of educational innovation. There are other things I want to say about evaluation but that comes in a later context.*

* *But it's also crucial that even sometimes other things being a little bit unequal, when there's a short run innovation about which teachers are extremely enthusiastic in which they say; "Oh, I know I can just do wonderful things with the kids because it is so nice." This procedure should be adopted as opposed to procedures which may have shown slightly more favorable outcomes in the kids in the short run, but about which the teachers expressed no enthusiasm at all. You have to keep the teacher going as well as the kids and one of the things about certain kinds of innovations is that the teachers will say; "Oh, this is marvelous, wonderful, very effective. I just love it." And even though you can show them that it doesn't do anything, that doesn't mean this isn't a good idea because I think one of the real issues here is how to keep your teachers going under adverse circumstances.*

* *Seymour Sarasen of Yale has done a tally, and says as far as he can tell--it's not a very good sample--but in over 90% of all the cases of educational innovation he's looked at the innovation has been from on top, that is by either superintendent or principal and the teachers have been dragooned into it with an absolute modicum of participation in the planning of the innovation and hence with the maximum of heel dragging. Now this may be one of the things one can teach teachers about. If they want to be democratic participants in the structure of innovation, that's also a way in which they should structure innovation among kids if they want maximum involvement.*

* *Certainly no teacher ought to leave the school of education with*

a certificate still imagining that the business of having a track system is unknown to the kids.

* *I assume that most of them will have now come up through the Blue Birds, the Orioles, the Cardinals and the dum-dums.*

* *There's a cliche for that, that goes "you know, you can call them robins and blue-jays but every kid knows which bird flies and which one doesn't."*

* *When we came to New York, the kids went into PS 6, where there are five tracks per grade and where it is highly ritualistic--absolutely forbidden that the people do not know which is which.*

* *In PS 6 you have the brightest parents in New York City.*

* *Right. So the point is that the second grader I'm about to describe did not have the advantage of having been in first grade at the school or of being on the street there and she didn't know anything about anything when she went to school on Wednesday and liked it. Then she went to school on Thursday and came home and liked it. And then she went to school on Friday and came home and told us; "I got promoted to Miss Silver's class."*

* *There is a lot of this kind of silliness and this is a classic example of the kind of contradiction that one can find. The school professes an ideology of equalitarianism and clearly, visibly and obviously practices something quite the opposite. We have what's called an ungraded school and all it means is that the kids take about 20 minutes to learn that there are different grades in each subject so each kid now has a profile but the profiles are highly inter-correlated. With rare exceptions the kids who are high in one subject tend to be high in the other subjects. But the school officials persist in not allowing you to talk in a reasonable rhetoric when you say; "Now, look, is Junior doing fourth grade math?" "Oh, he's doing umteen math and he's such and such," and so on, and they give you this nonsense.*

* *Only the seven year olds say "I got promoted to Miss Silver's class."*

* *Then why not structure this for teachers? Administrative convenience has no necessary relationship to educational values. There is often a big mistake made because one ought to take into account teachers' comfort and teachers' ease at things, but one ought not to*

substitute that for the educational value of what's being done. If you can get a consensus, fine, but if not, then you may have to choose between the two, and procedure may have to be retooled. But teachers do it and schools do it. Schools substitute administrative convenience for educational value. So if it takes ten minutes to move a kid out of one track into another after a certain date, they may not do it because it just takes that ten minutes and the clerk is too damned busy to make the change, and so, if there's no appeal by a certain date, they're done for. And one datum I know that's distressing, is that there aren't any schools in the country that can claim that they moved as many as 10% of the kids out of tracks assigned in the seventh grade by the twelfth grade. That is 90% stability in the tracks assigned to the seventh grade. This is the English eleven plusses right down to the teenies.

** That only shows what a good selective system they had!

* That's right!

* When really that selective system is based on an unstandardized and unvalidated tests, plus teachers' intuitive judgement, plus bad national norms, plus unpredictable IQ.....

* You're back to my notion that you take what you get, and you teach it.

* You see that's the real curse of the ability grouping.....

* In our first study in Los Angeles we ran into a Mexican American kid with an IQ of 142 in the vocational section, track five.

* Let me go back to one of my pet notions. I always ask, is it organizationally possible that these people could be doing what they claim to be doing? And very commonly you find out this is a very simple question to answer. If you ask yourself, as a large complex system what do they have to have and what routines do they have to follow on any scale in order to do what they claim to be doing? And very, very commonly you find it's simply impossible. So when they profess and say: "Oh, we're doing it", you don't even pay any attention. You know in advance they can't be doing it. They may think they're doing it. And this whole business of how you track, re-track, untrack and subtrack kids in a 3,000 student high school (which is not a particularly large plant these days) if you think of the information processing requirements that that presupposes..... If you went to

General Motors and said; "Okay, with 3,000 different models of cars and you have 1,500 dealers out there, and you have these various model-dealer matches you want to make, they would right away turn it over to the computer people. They wouldn't fool around, right? And they would work it out eventually and they would come up with a system that would recognize it as a very complex information processing problem. They would not say what the public school says: "Oh well, we evaluate them and put them in the right track." They would know right away that's nonsense. An engineer, if he said: "Oh well, let's look at them and send them to the right dealer."--he'd be fired. You know, the guy on top would say: "what kind of a clancker have I got on my hands here?" It's very, very common in these people-managing trades to run into just this kind of just plain impossible statement. The NAACP discovery that one of the reasons why the 'Title One' programs weren't working was that the money was being used to build swimming pools. If that's what's happening, you don't ask questions like; is Head Start working or are these special programs good. There are no special programs. They cannot be doing what they claim to be doing. It's a very, very common thing in these big systems. They simply do not sit down and say; all right here, if we're going to have five tracks, 3,000 kids, then unless some really big chunk of organizational time and resources is devoted to just switching process, it can't possibly be done.

* *The important thing I think for teachers to learn about tracking and the whole notion of ability grouping and so on, is that, it is a pathology in the minds of the educators and not a characteristic of the world out there--because school systems track no matter how homogeneous the population in a particular school is. Our kids, when we lived in St. Louis, went to a school in a new school district which must have been one of the most homogeneous grammar schools in the country--all suburban, 90% Jewish, all middle-class, etc. etc. By God, there were two tracks in that school, and in kindergarten!*

* *How else can you be Jewish? You have to have at least two tracks.*

* *And there was a normal distribution of grades wasn't there--in each of the tracks?*

* *Probably.*

* Isn't that curious? Once upon a time there was a bell shaped curve that said that there ought to be.....

* And then you learn the test by which they're placed in tracks. The kids come to school and they're five years old (or four and a half when they come in the fall) and they're asked if they can write their names. And the teacher talks with them, and there is one other little task, and it becomes quite obvious when you listen to mothers talk about their different kids who have done this, that this is a test of the extent to which the child feels comfortable in the interview situation--comfortable enough to do something, and talk and make a few squiggles with a pencil. If he does he's put in the high group which they carefully say is the more mature group, not the more intelligent group. And if he doesn't, he's put in the low group with the promises that they'll mix them up and so forth and so on. Finally, after enough pressure from the parents that they decided to do away with the whole thing. And now they move them back and forth and they have this kind of mixture going.

* There's a very interesting finding on this, a statistical finding that doesn't persuade teachers but at least it gives you the courage to argue the point. If you take two groups of 100 kids and then do two different things with each of the groups. With the first group you divide them up with the bottom 33, the second 33, and the top 33 or 34 and you then teach them. And take the second 100 and take a random sample for each of the three groups that you're going to teach, and then teach these six groups in accordance with your expectations - one the homogeneous, the other the heterogeneous population. The actual amount of varience that's reduced on scores on standard tests for all the groups is 17%. When you _do_ maximum homogenization of groups you reduce the actual variance in outcome on standard tests by 17%. Now, that's almost trivial by way of accomplishment. So if you want to plump for heterogeneity of groups you've got some statistical evidence here that you really don't accomplish very much at all, if anything, even in intellectual productivity, even under the best of circumstances, by homogenizing the groups.

* The other great example of this kind of phenomenon is the one Scheff uses in the book, "Becoming Mentally Ill". He picked up some-

place a series of eye examinations, in a public school. The doctor comes in and he examines all the kids in the class and a third of them need glasses. Then they bring in a second doctor to examine the two-thirds who didn't need glasses and that doctor says a third of those need glasses. A third doctor and a fourth doctor, and every single time a third of the kids needed glasses because obviously his expectation, going into a random group of kids, is that a third of them will need some kind of eye correction.

* *That's a standard factor of sociological distribution, you know. Like a third of the mentally ill get better, a third get worse, and a third don't get cured. And there's another sociological thing that's useful following up on the business of multiple consequences and muliple causes. The educational process of one which is a transaction. There are three major participants: (1) something called the curriculum inside the school; (2) somebody called the teacher and (3) somebody called the student. Of any result of that transaction, if it's to be judged a failure, it has to be asked--which element in it failed and in what regard? Our system now works in such a way that only one person's success or failure is measured, namely, the individual with the least power, the student. And all blame for the failure of the system is loaded onto him. It is he who is judged to have succeeded or failed and nobody else. It's he who is judged to have failed. If the system succeeds, the teacher takes the responsibility. If the child fails by the test, the teacher does not take the responsibility for the failure. An awareness that there is a transaction going on and that there are at least three constituent elements in that transaction that produce any given outcome at any given time, would make teachers somewhat more hesitant about assigning failure to the students. They would begin, maybe, some degree of self-examination. This has very much to do with the grading system because if there's to be grading systems, and education is a transaction, you ought to grade three people, - teachers, curriculum, and students with regard to their input. And if teachers argue with you that it's good for the motivation of the students to be graded, among other things I suggest that you propose to them a system that every teacher be graded at every marking period by the students or anybody else they want, and*

those that get A will get 100% of their salary and those who get B will get 90%, and C and so on down the line. Because if it's a motivating system, it's got to motivate them as well as the kids. And they're going to argue it's not good for their motivation, then on what grounds is it good for the motivation of kids. And if they say we are already professionally committed to this, then that's the whole point--get the kids committed and stop the punitive system of allocating invidious grades. But the transactional character of the educational process has to be seen so that the allocation for responsibility should be far more fair than it is now, especially given the fact that the schools as institutions and the teachers as agents, have far more power than the kids who are the victims of the system.

*** Very good--thank you. We're probably getting towards a close. Are there any particular points that ought to get read into the record?*

** I could give you the results of a finding of two years of work that may be of some use. My colleague Marvin Bressler and I (Tumin) surveyed several hundred methods of evaluating the outcomes of educational systems trying to discover whether it's possible to say whether any system has succeeded or failed, as against the universal claims of all educational administrators who say by and large last year was a good year. (That's a uniform report from all school systems). Our sense of it is, on the basis of looking at the evaluational systems, is that there is no school or school system in the United States that can, with evidence, say whether it has succeeded or failed at any given time. Lack of clarity of goals, absence of measurements, lack of objectivity of evaluation, lack of measurement of the correspondence between outcome and goal, lack of control of possible contaminating variables called the community and the parents and the peer groups--all of these render meaningless any claims about whether the school has succeeded or failed in the previous year. That my comfort somebody and dismay others, but the absence of adequate evaluation is quite clear in the American educational system. Itmay free a lot of teachers to behave differently but thereit is. By the way, that's true for foreign school systems as well, and for other countries as well as our own. It's exactly the same.*

*** Those with public examination systems?*

* Those with public and those with national systems alike. We did Holland and we did England and we did France and we did Italy, and there are the same outcomes there. That is, there is no way of saying what the outcome of education has been except by some very large scale gross measurement such as the number of people gotten to with kinds of occupations and incomes they earned. Whether they did this in spite of the schools or because of the schools, this is impossible to judge.

* Could I speak about a finding that I've heard people talking about several times, although I've not read the article involved. If you control for the characteristics of the students there is no difference in the ability of the different colleges to produce high intellectual quality.

* That's a high school finding--part of the Coleman finding. And it's the standard finding for the colleges. There is another finding that may be of interest to you. I love this one. This was found by Donald Brigg who surveyed 45 studies of the correspondence between college grades and later distinction in vocational careers. And this is in the American College Testing Program Bulletin No. 6, September 1960, if I remember, and he says though there are problems which arise in confirming that the studies were not of the same kind, and there wasn't adequate control over variables, and instruments used weren't the same throughout, but by and large the correlation between college grades and later vocational distinction hovers around zero. And so, if elementary grades predict high school grades, and that's all they predict, and college grades predict nothing, then what do graduate school grades predict?

* Graduate school grades do to some degree predict.....

* No, graduate school grades don't predict vocational distinction. But there are a number of our colleagues who boast about having done poorly in graduate school.....

* But school quality.....

* IQ predicts grades, right?

* .....for example, of professors, you can predict where they are to some extent, on the basis of where they went to graduate school. Where they went to college is absolutely useless.

* Well, this raises the question, really a horrendous kind of

thing, whether the whole system isn't simply turning out to really be a real predestinarian operation.

* You heard the evidence just cited. That indicates that the system is working perfectly. It doesn't matter where you go to school or what grades you get, things work out.....

* There really is no consistency. Which reminds us about late bloomers and early faders, the two types that the school don't take enough account of. Anyway, I propose a proper education, (you know, the English version of what's a proper education that you were asking about before). One of the things I would really want to do, in terms of what the teacher says, is that no subject is per so self-commending as a legitimate subject to teach the kids. Unless you can show some rationale for a given subject (and in turn, of course, for given books or a given set of exercises) that has some reasonable chance of producing an educational outcome that you can certify as desirable (but not because of its inherent or intrinsic worthwhileness), you ought not to teach that.

** I've got to ask this last question then. Why would you teach sociology?

* I wouldn't.

** In any sense at all?

* I would teach a lot of the understandings that we've acquired in sociology but I would never teach sociology as a subject matter in high school. No, I would teach social science to teachers. I wouldn't teach sociology as a subject matter per se. I would teach social science for educators because I would reject the teaching of sociology as an undergraduate course myself,--because I'm against departments.

* Here's the really august Princetonian prospective now.

* No, we don't have them. Not this at all. I'm against departments because I'm for a reasonable version of general education and I always have been. I've always found departments only a pain in the neck. I'd much rather feel free to teach any kind of kids who want to come in on a given topic that I want to teach. Departments are for the birds. But everybody goes through the same business. That's where your professional prestige lies. People can come out of disciplines, but that doesn't mean they have to work in departments, especially in

the high schools. I think our association is dead wrong--along with economists who are wrong in getting economics into the high schools, as a subject matter. A whole different way to organize curriculum in schools along the lines of themes based upon common problems that you can really talk about--everyone getting a common education, though at different levels of depth of understanding, so that you can say that a kid who really has 20% of the natural intellect of another kid (to take the extremes) nevertheless at his level got as much possible understanding. Let's say a theme of what are the ways in which men have solved their problems of conflict with other men, and you bring literature and art and math and geography, wherever relevant to that theme.

** *Are we back to the great books?*

* *Oh, indeed, absolutely, including modern great books. That's the difference.*

* *Will you let me get them reading up to grade level before you....?*

* *Oh, indeed, but if they can't read up to grade level then I'll take them in front of the pictures and I'll take them to the movies and so on until they've got enough interest in that stuff that they want to read about it some more.*

** *Who makes the selection?*

* *You make it with painful uncertainty about whether it's any good and you do the best you can, hopefully getting some evaluative instruments, asking what kind of materials made it with what kind of kids for what kind of ends? It's all that provisional.*

* *You've just answered a thing that I've been worrying about since this morning when you said this business about rewarding kids equally for unequal productivity. What I was worried about was not the thesis as you already know, but I was worrying about the response you get to this from school boards, principals, teachers, and so on, and it's only a matter of individuality. What you do is reward the kids equally for equal productivity, productivity being a percentage of what they're able to do.*

* *I don't want them to start setting norms as to what this kid ought to be able to do.*

* *But it's what you were talking about when you were saying this*

kid is doing very well......

* ......then it's pretty equal reward for equal effort. His productivity is, if he increases by a given ratio, say 10% in the next time period.

* Or suppose he only increases by 1% in the next time period, you don't want to punish him for that.

* No, you want to reward him but you wouldn't reward him as much as another kid who increased 10%.

* Okay, but suppose now you get some sense that both kids are trying reasonably equally hard, given their capacities, but one kid increased 10%.....

* Do you take away food from your own kids who won't try?

* Dessert, yes.

* No you don't.

* Yes I do.

* But you don't take the meat and potatoes away, okay? Only see the kids as open-minded possibilities and you're going to be as diverse and versatile as you can. You'll throw things at them to get some sense from a whole range of things. You let them play under your supervision, so he gets to tell you where he's ready and willing to go next.

SECTION II

This section contains the greater part of the material abstracted during the literature search. The items are presented alphabetically (by author) according to the following convention. The bibliographical data comes first. Next comes a brief descriptive statement of the nature of the item. Then, under "A", are listed any data supported points, or any points known to be data supportable. Under "B" are listed assertions made in the source material but which appear to be data free. Recommendations made by authors follow, under the "C" heading. Finally, where the abstractor has seen fit, some comments are listed under "D". These mostly indicate what other information is contained in the source item.

It will be remembered that the abstractors were graduate sociologists and their sociology orientation, as we intended, will have influenced their judgements. However, an educational requirement placed on them served to focus their attention also. We required the searchers to base their selection on whether or not they, as sociologists, felt the information before them could be thought to be germane, even remotely germane, to the teacher of urban disadvantaged children. In so far as they thought that there was information here that the teacher, or the trainer of teachers, of disadvantaged children ought to know or appreciate, they were to include it.

At the end of the section there is a supplement which contains additional material that came to hand later.

Adams, Paul L., M.D. and McDonald, Nancy F. Clinical Cooling Out of Poor People, American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 38, No. 3, April 1968.

Discussion of coolers' ideology and analysis of clinical 'cooling out' process by which poor people are declared unworkable by middle-class staffs of child psychiatric clinics.

B.1. Clinics do not universally cool out poor people.
  2. The extent of cooling out of poor people is not known.
  3. A detailed analysis of coolers' ideology-cooling out tactics include the following -
    a. avoidance of standards-ambiguity at referral; intake, diagnosis, etc.
    b. use of status differentials to intimidate (e.g. high brow vocabulary)
    c. use of extensive inquiry to intimidate
    d. use of probationary status-prolonging intake, using waiting lists etc.
    e. hard refusal-outright rejection after 'evidence' has been gathered
    f. gradual disengagement-concealing cooling out by attending to all terminating bids.
    g. sidetracking-referring to another more suitable agency
    h. using agents of consolation-social workers, residents, special education teachers
    i. objective denial-such as 'the record shows you are not making it.

Alam, Bilquis A. Perception of Opportunity and Occupational Expectation: A Racial Comparison of Rural Youth. Paper. Southwestern Sociological Society Meetings, Dallas, Texas, April 1968.

Data was obtained in 1966 from high school male sophomores in three East Central Texas counties containing a high percentage of Negroes and low-income families as compared with Texas and the US as a whole.

A.1. Negro youths have a greater awareness of limited occupational opportunity than white youths.
  2. No conclusive statement can be made concerning the hypothesis that Negro youths have lower levels of occupational expectations than white youths.
  3. Data also fail to support the hypothesis that a positive relationship exists between perception of opportunity and occupational expectations, for both racial groups.

C.1. Need for more research to determine the validity of the scale used and to devise and test alternative methods of measuring perception of opportunity.

Alex, Nicholas. Black in Blue: A Study of the Negro Policeman. Dissertation, New School for Social Research, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1967.

A study of the Negro policeman and the factors affecting his status congruency. The findings are grouped under five headings: motivations for entering Civil Service, police image, white public, interpersonal relations and perceived discrimination, and the Negro community.

B.1. Status conflict results from a change in performance of roles.

Most joined the department because of civil service opportunities and were not primarily interested in becoming policemen.

2. Conflict between their commitment to professionalism and the institutional and community context in which they must work, which functions to sustain, limit, and contradict role performance.
3. The white public views the actions of the Negro policeman as motivated by his ethnic status, thereby forcing him to under-react or over-react.
4. a. Assignments are primarily to Negro ghettos.
   b. The presence of bureaucratic norms results only in the expression of racial antagonisms of Negro and white policemen in a less over fashion and not in their elimination.
5. a. The Negro policeman is looked upon as an agent of the white society by the Negroes in the ghetto.
   b. His role made difficult by young offenders.
   c. He responds to these pressures and challenges by developing special techniques to preserve his authority as a policeman. He may act overzealously in the presence of white policemen to justify himself as a professional, or he may respond purely in terms of the legal requirements of the situation.
6. He feels isolated from friends and neighbours.
7. Suppression of civil rights demonstrations with which he has basic sympathy creates a moral dilemma for him.

Alinsky, Saul D. The poor and the powerful, Poverty and Mental Health, Milton Greenblatt, Paul E. Emery and Bernard C. Blueck, Jr., editors. Psychiatric Research Report No. 21, American Psychiatric Association, January 1967.

Discussion of the relationship of the psychiatric profesion to the problems of society. The poor are defined as those who lack, not merely economic resources, but also power.

B.1. Welfare colonialism in America wrongly assumes that low-income and minority group members are incapable of making a contribution.
2. Without the involvement of local people in social welfare programs, the community's strength and support is lacking.
3. Poverty has become the number one problem as the poor realize that it need not be accepted any longer.
4. A community going mad during a race riot is analogous to an individual in a psychotic frenzy.

C.1. Psychiatrists should become involved in the problems of the world and not confine themselves to the state hopsital and middle-class patients.
2. Psychiatric concepts are needed in the field of mass mechanics.
3. The psychiatric profession should not restrict its activities to individual treatment programs or to the format the psychiatric profession has pursued.
4. Change does not come without crisis, hopefully, psychiatrists will become involved in the creation of crises.

Allen, Vernon L. Personality Concomitants of Poverty, Proceedings of a Conference on Research on Poverty. Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Washington, D.C., June 1968.

A review of available literature and research studies to examine traits widely assumed to characterize the personality of the poor and to determine how much is known about personality and poverty and how much is myth.

A.1. The assumption that the poor have a shorter time perspective is not tenable in the light of empirical evidence.
2. No unanimous empirical support for the prediction of a difference between lower and middle class concerning impulse gratification.
3. Most studies show that the lower class is significantly lower on need achievement, which is related to behavior.
4. It is not possible to say whether social structural variables or personality factors form the basis for greater anomie responses of the lower-class.
5. No clear conclusion regarding socio-economic status differences in response to types of incentives.
6. Poverty is not necessarily associated with a mere negative self-concept.
7. Differential cognitive function among social class groups, mediated perhaps by language, is indicated.
8. There is a clear socio-economic status difference in occupational aspiration.

Alman, Emyly. The Child of the American Poor. In Cowles, Milly (Ed.) Perspectives in the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Cleveland, The World Publishing Co., 1967.

An essay on the socialization process of the children of the poor--rural, urban, ethnic--in view of the effects of the isolation of the poor brought about by their inability to make a living in the non-poor society, the general uneasiness among the non-poor, and the reluctance of the non-poor to have any contact with the poor.

B.1. Disparity between the image of America and the reality of the world of the poor in a number of areas.
  a. The poor child's birth in a public hospital ward falls outside the American idea of private medical care.
  b. The existence of the child of the poor is met by a negative attitude of social planners and welfare critics.
  c. His mother to whom he's attached is a non-mother in the American sense of filling his needs with poise and efficiency.
  d. His father is far off from the American ideal of a father who is visible, powerful, wise, moderate, loving and protective.
2. When the material and social advantages of living in the mainstream elude the poor, the parents are ineffective in meeting the needs of the child in the American way, and this inadequacy is communicated to the child.
3. The poor child receives an education which is middle-class in content. This triggers an adolescent 'tuning out'.
4. His maturing years are characterized by the realization of his low market value in the dominant society. He is adjudged mature when

he ceases to show signs of discontent and appears to be making the best of it.

C.1. It is the responsibility of the public to examine government welfare poverty policies which arbitrarily displace the poor, and the industrial system within which the under class has been generated.

American Federationist, The, The Urban Crisis: An Analysis, an Answer. Vol. 74, No. 10, October, 1967.

Discussion of the causes of and solutions to the problems which have given rise to a crisis situation in the American cities.

A.1. Increase in city populations is faster than the over-all national population.
2. Majority of in-migrants are Negroes.
3. Decrease in the availability of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, in urban areas.
4. Lack of housing for low-income families in the cities.
5. Exodus of middle-class, white-collar workers to suburbs.

C. Solution of crisis on a national level proposed by AFL-CIO Exutive Council.
1. One million public service jobs should be opened.
2. One-half million housing units should be built each year.
3. Mass transit systems must be started.
4. Acceleration of public facilities construction by a $2 billion a year additional grant-in-aid from congress.
5. Expansion of youth employment programs
6. Improvement in quality of public education and training programs.
7. Welfare should be more easily obtainable.

Anderson, Margaret, The Children of the South, New York; Farrar, Straus and Griroux, 1966.

An account of the effect of school desegregation on Southern Negro children drawn as a teacher in a high school in Tennessee from personal experience. Some educational guidelines for the future are given.

B.1. Negro children who come to desegregated schools are full of fear and anxiety.
2. Instead of closeness to others of their age, they are too often scarred by insult and social isolation since only a few white students will befriend them.
3. The majority of white students belong to families who are familiar with only the old Southern values, are at a low educational level and reject desegregation on principle.
4. Personal experience with Negro students gradually removes the hatred since young people are malleable.
5. Merely admitting students to the school is not enough, for often a disadvantaged background yields an academic handicap.
6. The burden of prejudice, a disorganised family life, and poverty frequently instilled feelings of inferiority and fatalism in the Negro students.
7. Social integration is a slower and more difficult process than legislated physical integration; there always remain a few

with closed minds and for whom prejudice is more a matter of personality than belief.

8. However, the over-all trend is toward harmony.

C.1. Compensatory programs--particularly in reading and pre-school training could help most of these disadvantaged children greatly.

2. Necessity of finding and training teachers with special competence of dealing with disadvantaged children.
3. More guidance counselors needed, for many of them lack a person at home to give guidance.
4. Educators must motivate them and help them plan for the future.
5. He must be encouraged to continue his schooling to get the required skills.
6. Since some colleges have milder interracial climates than others, Negro students should choose the appropriate institution.

Ausubel, David P. A Teaching Stretegy for Culturally Deprived Pupils: Cognitive and Motivational Considerations, Readings in Educating the Disadvantaged, New York, Joe A. Apple, Editor, Selected Academic Readings Inc., 1967.

Culturally deprived children would benefit from teaching methods which emphasize readiness, consolidation, and sequential learning, and the development of an intrinsic motivational drive to learn.

B.1. Programmed instruction is a promising technique for use with culturally deprived children. Ideally, an enthusiastic teacher should present this orally or with reference to a traditional textbook.

2. Neither teaching machines nor programmed textbooks are suitable for culturally deprived children--they fragment ideas so that their inter-relationship and logical structure are obscured.
3. The child must be interested in order to retain knowledge since motivational considerations are closely related to cognitive ones.
4. Motivation damaged by school failure and lack of self-confidence. His cultural background also does not foster motivation to learn.
5. Extrinsic motivational factors like good jobs do not help since these children focus on the present.
6. Thus, development of intrinsic motivation by focussing on the cognitive aspects of learning--by teachers who are excited about their material and with whom the child can identify.

C.1. Higher academic and vocational aspirations can be fostered through intensive counseling to give the personal support which is lacking in the child's home.

2. Academic striving will be greatly encouraged by an end to both racial and class discrimination in housing, education, and employment.
3. Children should be told about successful professional persons who started with backgrounds similar to their own.
4. Abundant scholarships should encourage attendance at community colleges, technical institutes, and universities.
5. Direct involvement of parents in the newly fostered ambitions of their children may occur.

Ausubel, D.P. & Ausubel, Pearl. Ego development among segregated Negro children. In A.H. Passow (Ed.) Education in Depressed Areas. New York, Columbia University Teacher College Press, 1965.

Summary and commentary of literature.
Demands changing the ego structure of Negro child to desire and be able to achieve training so he can compete with whites.
Ego development of segregated Negroes now has distinctive properties.

B.1. Unstable and matriarchal family structure.
2. Limited ways of achieving social status.
3. Segregation from dominant white majority.
4. Cultural devaluation of dignity as humans.

Implications:
1. Negro children learn negative value of being black, can't identify with their parents, seems to result in ego deflation and low self-esteem.
2. Early experiences in fending for selves results in precarious social maturity, independence and emancipation from the home.
3. Low aspirations for academic work.
4. Negro youth have ambivalent feelings toward middle class values and use social discrimination as rationalization for own inadequacies, etc.
5. Since they cannot win they no longer compete, affects females less than males.

C.1. Education would work to eliminate segregation, promote civil rights and increase Negro aspirations, standards of achievement, and self esteem.
2. Negro family life, strengthened and culturally enriched.
3. Extensive guidance services provided to Negroes.

Ayers, William. Discussion, The Children's Community, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968.

This article focusses on the Children's Community, an experimental integrated school in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The school is based on the principle of acceptance of children and cultures as they are.

B.1. Twenty-seven children attend the school, which is accredited through second grade.
2. Special care taken to avoid the destructive side effects of schools where integration means placing Negro children in a white environment.
3. Differences are merely new experiences and new things to learn.
4. There is no structured way in which exchange takes place. This school is a model of what integrated schools could be.
5. Children seem to thrive in the school environment.
6. Each child has the opportunity to move at his own speed in the direction he feels is not important; teaching is part of active progress which begins with the child, not with an objective body of subject matter to be covered.

C.1. The Children's Community is a good school which is integrated; it is not a good school because it is integrated.

Bandler, Louise S. Family Functioning: A Psycho-social Perspective, in Eleanor Pavenstedt(ed.) The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

The focus in the chapter is the family life particularly the disharmonies between individual, family and society.
Several families were selected to illustrate the range of disorganization among multiproblem families and the diversity of parent behavior. Included are a multiproblem asocial family, and families with maximum disorganization, with severe disorganization of different orders, and with gross pathology but less severe disorganization.

A.1. Generally, these parents have grown up with few of the learning experiences which foster maturity.

2. They bring to their current family life deprivations, uncontrolled impulses, excesses leading to aggressive acts and asocial acting-out, inconsistencies and passivity toward change.

3. The most striking characteristics of these families is that parents and children exhibit similar behavior and methods of coping with life.

4. The needs of the parents take precedence over the needs of the children.

5. A narcissistic extension of thier own personalities is the only form of love the parents show for their children.

6. At the same time, the parents have ego functioning covering every phase of development and can give limited care to their children, husbands or wives, and households.

7. They show unexpected initiative, competence and organization when provided with realistic goals.

C.1. Need for systematic longitudinal studies of children and families similar to those in the North Point project to validate, negate, or modify the project personnels' impressions.

Banton, Michael. White Supremacy in the United States, and Urbanization and Separation in the United States, Race Relations, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1968.

Analysis of how once inequality has been institutionalized, it is reinforced by forces evident from the trend of events in the United States.

B.1. In spite of abolition of slavery, which severely shook the foundations of inequality, the two-category social order reasserted itself in new forms.

2. This new order appealed less to power and custom and more to the ideology of social distance and racial difference in seeking to legitimize itself.

3. By 1906, the edifice of white supremacy was virtually completed.
   a. The position of southern whites who had sought this supremacy seemed in some respects worse.
   b. Legislated segregation and lynching reinforced exploitation and intimidation.

4. The World Wars and the change in distribution and economic status of the Negro community challenged the order and became the basis of more radical movements in recent years.

5. The color-caste system and the need for keeping a distinct color

line set up patterns of interracial etiquette to maintain the status quo.

6. Sexual elements, occupational elements, urbanization, white patronage, and Negro exclusion from the polls, churches and education are all related to maintenance of white supremacy.
7. Social change does not uniformly reduce inconsistency but in many respects divides up social domains, making situational discontinuity more important.
8. Segregation in the North and the effect of urban trends on the Negro dilemma are emphasized.
9. Description of the development of the only Negro political movement with mass support--nationalism--in the context of Negro urban life.

Bargatta, Edgar F. Theories of Poverty, Proceedings of a Conference on Research on Poverty, Washington D.C., Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1968.

B.1. Many descriptive studies of poverty: comparisons of peoples and descriptions of stratification which may involve conventional concepts of social structures or notions of subcultures.
2. Many concepts in these analyses of stratifications and groupings are mere descriptive implying little theory.
3. Theories of causation of poverty suffer from an arbitrary definition of the condition.
4. Single factor and other simplistic theories are insufficient for the understanding of what causes poverty.
5. The multi-determinant base of any encompassing theory suggests an order of complexity beyond the current technology of the social sciences.

C.1. An understanding of the causes of poverty requires comprehension of the whole social fabric.
2. If it is acknowledged that the social sciences are young and imprecise, then the current status of poverty theories is easily understood.

Barnett, Minna K. Being a member of a Minority Group: Relevance and Opportunity in the World of Work, in William C. Kvaraceus, John S. Gibson and Thomas J. Curtin, (Eds.) Poverty, Education and Race Relations: Studies and Proposals. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

A review of the progress made in recent years by minority groups in the field of education and employment in view of the fact that barriers of caste and class hinder the achievement of equality of opportunity.

B.1. Professor Pettigrew of Harvard estimates that if the record for the decade of the 1950's prevails, Negroes will not receive proportional representation among clerical workers until 1992, among skilled workers until 2005, among professionals until 2017, and among business managers and proprietors until 2730.
2. Only the schools can upgrade lower-class children of racial minorities into the middle-class.

C.1. To make education more meaningful for these children:
   a. Subjects should be divided into management packages.

b. These packages should be developmentally arranged to meet the needs and interests of specific children.
c. Mastery of each package should be required before moving on to the next.
C.2. Learning experiences should be drawn from the child's world.
3. Non-graded schools with heterogeneous classes should emphasize mastery not marks.
4. Continuing relationships of schools with colleges, technical and professional schools, labor unions, industry, and professional or business organizations.
5. Thus, joint programs can be developed -
a. to measure the skills of each child;
b. to locate the institution in which his skill may be further developed;
c. to provide guidance.

Barrett, Richard S. Gray Areas in Black and White Testing, Harvard Business Review, Vol. 46, No. 1, 1968.

A study measuring the effectiveness of tests in gauging the capacities for work of persons with various cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

B.1. The ideal situation occurs when the test is valid for both whites and Negroes, and both groups score equally well on the tests and perform equally well on the job.
2. The situation is not universal. Improving tests will not resolve the problem of selection of employment of minority groups.
3. The policy of giving special treatment to Negroes in the form of training or acceptance of poor performance is not only degrading to Negroes, but is a source of friction with supervisors and other workers.
C.1. Four remedies were suggested to make selection fairer and to help companies and discrimination in employment practices.
a. Redesigning jobs to eliminate or minimize the needs for certain requirements.
b. More careful training of receptionists who too often do preliminary screening of applicants for lower level positions.
c. Changing the testing procedure to offset the poor scores sometimes made by Negroes.
d. Training and upgrading interviewers so that top management's convictions about fair employment will not be distorted.
2. Suggestions for the employer who wishes to upgrade the quality of minority applicants include:
a. Using employment agencies which specialize in minority groups, advertising in ethnic newspapers, etc.

Batchelder, Alan B. The Economy and the Minority Poor, The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment. Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., Washington D.C., 1966.

A comparative study of four minority groups--American Indians, Negroes, white persons of Spanish surname in five Southwestern States, and persons of Puerto Rican origin--in terms of income, age, family size, and geographical area to analyze effects of discrimination in certain areas.

A.1. Disadvantages in the various areas studied are due to the poor education of minority groups. These areas are:
   a. occupations,
   b. part-time work and unemployment,
   c. vulnerability in recession,
   d. minority group businesses,
   e. Southern agricultural change,
   f. growth of Southern manufacturing,
   g. technological change in manufacturing,
   h. the rising 'social minimum wage',
   i. negative self-concepts which perpetuate the poverty cycle.
2. Many poor whites are the least able whites when judged on the basis of native intelligence and are unsuccessful when afforded the educational opportunity.
3. Therefore, there would be a higher yield from an investment in those minority group members who both possess native intelligence and were deprived of the opportunity for education.

Batchelder, Alan B. A Nearly Free Market for Ohio Rubber Manufacturers But not for Ohio Negroes. Mimeographed, September 1967.

A report on job discrimination, intentional and unintentional, in Ohio, more specifically Akron, rubber plants based on employment data for 1965 provided by Ohio rubber manufacturers.

A.1. Negroes were not employed in white-collar work in Akron rubber plants with less than 500 workers and with less than 200 white-collar workers.
2. Most rubber plants outside Akron employed no Negroes as craftsmen or white-collar workers.
3. The anti-Negro restrictions on the female labor market were much tighter than those on the male labor market.
4. Although a high percentage of rubber factory jobs are unskilled or semiskilled the percentage of Negroes employed was, in most of the plants studied, below the percentage of Negroes in the labor force of the county where the plant was located.
5. During the 1960's Negroes accounted for and will continue to account for all of the increase in the Akron city labor force.
6. Wide variation in hiring practices of rubber companies which are situated close to each other.

C.1. Number of ways in which the Ohio Civil Rights Commission can identify patterns of discrimination.
2. Ohio Civil Rights Commission should use newsletters and speeches to provide information services for Negroes.
3. Plant management can be useful in helping to eliminate unintentional, as well as intentional, job discrimination.

Battle, Mark (U.S. Department of Labor). Minority Youth and Apprenticeship. Paper. Conference on Minority Youth in Apprenticeship, New York, February 1968.

Proposals and suggestions to help young minority group members take advantage of opportunities in the apprenticeship programs in the building and construction trades.

A.1. Negroes make up only three percent of the registered apprentices in the United States.

C.1. Special efforts required to change the situation.
2. Apprenticeship information campaigns should be sponsored by Building and Construction Trades Councils.
3. Planning of programs by local labor groups to familiarize Negroes with the qualifications needed for construction trades.
4. Discussion of various occupations and their requirements by local labor groups in a neighborhood center, high school, or a youth organization.
5. Labor organizations should help the young people find the right kind of pre-apprenticeship training by rating the training given by various schools.
6. Labor unions should work in conjunction with various government programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, e.g.,
   a. labor representatives could hold workshop sessions for Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees.
   b. local labor councils could develop summer jobs for Neighborhood Youth Corps youngsters in industries with apprentice trades.

Bennett, J.C. Educationally unappreciated youth-scope and general overview of problem. In John Curtis Gowan and George D. Demos (Eds.) The Disadvantaged and Potential Dropout. Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1966.

B. Problems producing dropout.
1. Most 'meaningful' causes are for college prep students.
2. Family changes e.g. divorce depresses achievement.
3. High family mobility--student turnover.
4. Family concentration on material goods conflict in values between home and school.

C. Suggestions for school.
1. Develop a curriculum that is representative of meeting educational and vocational needs of students.
2. Goal of schools should be:
   a. Graduates have marketable skills.
   b. To teach pupils in reason.
   c. To teach pupils good citizenship.
   d. To teach positive self-concept.

Bereiter, C. & Engleman, S. Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966.

Proposal for a preschool program for disadvantaged children emphasizing language.

B. Basic assumptions
1. Disadvantaged need a radically different approach and accelerated academic progress.
2. Disadvantaged are not stimulus deprived but lack kind of learning that will enable them to learn in school.
3. Disadvantaged child uses language affectively not cognitively.

C. Strategy in academically oriented preschool
1. Verbal bombardment of child.
2. Direct instruction--most effective in channelling stress productively and developing close affectionate ties.

C.3. Language is focal position. A child must learn to identify and ask questions about things and group things.
4. Arithmetic taught in relation to counting.
5. Alphabet drills, word identity exercises and rhyming--to place emphasis on words as distinct entities.

Bienstock, Herbert. Realities of the job market for the high school dropout, in Daniel Schreiber (Ed.) Profile of the School Dropout, New York, Random House, 1967.

The large expansion of the under-25 group in the labor force which is occurring along with rapid advances in technological development presents some major barriers to any satisfactory labor force adjustment of the dropout.

A.1. 15 times (approximately 26 million) as many young people under 25 will enter the work force in the 1960's as did in the 1950's.
2. About 30% of the 26 million will be high school dropouts.
3. Despite the increase in the total number of dropouts in the 1960's the dropout rate is declining; educational attainment is rising and the proportion of high school dropouts in the labor force has recently fallen below the 50% mark.
4. Job opportunities are shrinking on the farms and factories--job areas that typically provided opportunities to dropouts--due to rapid technological change.
5. Unemployment is typically a problem of youth--its rates in the teenage years run two-and-one-half to three times the rate for workers over 25.
6. Unemployment hits the dropout even harder.
7. There is evidence that among the significant factors determining who will become a dropout are color, place of residence, education, occupation, of family head, family income, I.Q., scholastic achievement, and course of study.

Bienstock, Herbert. The Employment Outlook: What the Statistics Show, New Generation, Vol. 50, No. 1, Winter 1968.

A statistical overview of the 1967 employment situation of the Negroes in the United States.

A.1. No change in the unemployment picture from 1966 to 1967: the number of employed persons averaged three million in 1967--100,000 more than in 1966--but the total unemployment rate remained unchanged at 3.8 percent.
2. This rate was the lowest in 14 years and proved that unemployment rates are a poor measure of socio-economic status.
3. Non-whites and teenagers, forming 18% of the labor force, represent 37% of the unemployed.
4. In December 1967, when the over-all unemployment rate declined to 3% and the non-white rate fell from 7.3% to 6.9%, the latter remained at more than twice the white unemployment rate (3.3%) for the month.
5. Unemployment concentrated in a few place.
   a. In January-September 1967, about 40% of the non-white unemployed were concentrated in 15 large metropolitan city areas.

b. Moreover, nine central cities have a total of one-fourth of the nation's non-white unemployed.

B.1. Assuming a 2% level of unemployment as a desirable goal and looking at unemployment data within this framework, the numbers can be managed in a $800 billion economy.

C.1. MDTA program no longer sufficient to meet the problem, which relates to human and social conditions rather than economic circumstances.

2. Manpower policy must deal with the elimination of barriers to employment.

Bird, Alan R. and McCoy, John L. White Americans in Rural Poverty, Agricultural Economic Report No. 124, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., November 1967.

A report on economic and community circumstances of the poor rural whites who, when compared with specific non-white minorities, attract little attention.

A.1. Poor rural whites are found in 4 types of locations:
  a. Depressed areas with a majority of poor whites.
  b. Relatively affluent areas where the poor whites are a minority.
  c. Relatively depressed areas with a minority of poor whites and a poor non-white majority.
  d. Areas ranging from poor to affluent with approximately equal proportions of poor whites and poor non-whites.

2. Poor rural whites represent no particular constituency, lack unity of purpose and organization, and are not identified with any social movement of human rights.

B.1. Poor rural whites, like other disadvantaged sub-groups, tend to be separated in attitude, behavior and physical location from major national markets (particularly labor markets) and the accepted American ways of life.

2. Emergence of special programs for target groups on the basis of economic and social need, together with increasingly exclusive definitions of these groups, tend to accentuate the separation.

3. Such separation may work to the detriment of poor rural whites and those with incomes just above arbitrary poverty lines.

C.1. Major new programs or major orientations of present programs, including consolidation of these programs, may be needed to remedy this situation.

2. New Program emphasis should be toward unified efforts that provide continuing opportunities for all citizens rather than polarization and fragmentation of 'special groups'.

3. This new emphasis should strengthen the effectiveness of programs in census-defined rural areas.

Blalock, H.M. Jr. Minority Percentage and Discrimination. Toward A Theory of Minority Group Relations. New York, John Wiley & Sons Inc. 1967.

The author argues that for the American Negro, the relationship between minority discrimination and motivation will be non-linear in the case of competitive and power threats, but that the form of non-linearity should differ in the two cases.

B.1. a. Whenever the power threat factor is more important, the slope should increase with minority percentage; and
  b. Whenever the competition factor predominates, the slope should decrease or at least be more linear.
2. Three types of discrimination in which the power-threat factor should predominate.
  a. Restriction of the minority's political rights.
  b. Symbolic forms of segregation.
  c. A threat-oriented ideological system.
3. Though it is theoretically possible to make predictions differentiating among independent variables, that might determine the competition or power-threat factor should be more important, these predictions may remain difficult to test.
4. Examination of minority mobilization factor. The case of the Negroes in the U.S. would suggest that minority mobilization may be expected to be highest,
  a. when the minority percentage is intermediate in value,
  b. unless the minority is large enough and has enough total resources for over-rebellion to stand a reasonable chance of success.

C.1. Practical implications of the author's analysis include the desirability of coordinating minority dispersion and the importance of employment opportunities in dispersion, assimilation, and reduction of racial tension.

Blalock, H.M. Jr. Socio-economic Factors and Discrimination, Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations. New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.

The chapter focusses on status variables and their relationships with prejudice.

B.1. Two assumptions are made:
  a. that the minorities are relevant to at least some of the means to important goals; and
  b. that these means are appropriate for large segments of the dominant group.
2. Three common ways by which minorities become linked with the means to important goals are:
  a. various forms of exploitation;
  b. direct aggression to satisfy feelings of frustration; and
  c. avoidance of the minority group in order to achieve status objectives or to reduce the likelihood of uncomfortable contact situations.
3. Analysis of the notion of status consciousness as this relates to avoidance behavior according to six dimensions, including job aspirations, proper behavior, organizational membership, social distance, respect for status, and conspicuous consumption.
4. Discussion of conditions under which social contacts of any kind are determinants of one's status, the visibility of contact, the prejudice level in the community, the size and heterogeneity of the community, etc.

Ten summary propositions are made.

Blau, Peter M. and Duncan, Otis Dudley. Inequality of Opportunity. The American Occupational Structure, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.

This chapter discusses ethnic variations in occupational achievement resulting from discrimination, ability and motivation.

B.1. Comparison is made between:
   a. Negroes and whites in terms of occupational inequalities;
   b. Southern and Northern whites and Negroes in respect of place of birth and place of residence;
   c. three white ethnic groups and white men of native parentage.
2. The data suggests that the handicap of Negroes is partly a result of discrimination.
3. The handicap of Southerners results from inadequate occupational preparation.
4. The minor differences among white ethnic groups are due to selective experience and motivation.
5. Race excepted, the occupational structure is governed by achievement criteria.
6. In spite of decline in discrimination against Negroes in this century, the position of the Negro has worsened in regard to higher levels of attainment.

Blau, Peter M. and Duncan, Otis Dudley. Occupational Structure and Stratification System, The American Occupational Structure, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.

This chapter focusses on the implications of social stratification. Conditions affecting a man's chance of occupational success in the U.S. are reviewed, specifically the relationship between family life and occupational life.

B.1. A man's status in the occupational structure is influenced by his status in his family of orientation.
2. His career in turn effects his family and procreation.
3. Research provides policy-makers with knowledge essential for effective action to better social conditions.
C.1. Children from large families should be helped to obtain better education. This would remove the occupational disadvantages.
2. The problems of Negroes are not so simple. Their handicaps cannot be solved in such a straightforward manner. They must be attacked on many levels.

Bloomberg, Warren Jr. and Henry J. Schmandt, (Eds.) Power, Poverty and Urban Policy, Vol. 2, Beverly Hills, Calif., Sage Publications, Inc., 1968.

These 20 essays provide evidence for the growing relevance of social science inquiry for the problem of urban poverty.

B.1. Existing measures to eliminate poverty are inadequate.
2. Poverty is rooted in the American institutional system.
3. Emphasis placed on the fallacy of easy assumption, the complexity of the variables involved, the need to be cognizant of differentiation among the poor, and the necessity of basing policy on both normative standards and empirical theory.

B.4. The problem of poverty is not soluble in the context of our institutional system.
5. Eliminating deprivation requires changes in entrenched institutional patterns with which the well-to-do are satisfied and in which many have vested interests.
6. Discussion of the promise and limitations of the community action component of the war on poverty and the problems involved in activating the poor.
7. The last section deals with the key issues in theories about poverty and the implications of these theories for policy in the U.S. and in other nations.

Blubaugh, Ronald. School bells for migrants. American Education, Vol. 4, No. 3, March 1968.

A study of the problems of migrant children in California schools.

A.1. Prior to 1966 only 3 or 4 districts had any efforts underway to help the migrant children.
2. By June 30, 1967, the number had risen to 66, due to the Migrant Amendment to Title I of the Elementary & Secondary Education Act.
3. 43 of California's 58 counties have migrant children at some time during the year.
4. The state has directed the $6.2 million fund to the 27 counties with the largest number of migrant children, since these federal funds were insufficient to aid every child. This caused sudden increase in enrollment in summer school programs.
5. Emphasis on reading development since 85% of migrants are Mexican-American.
6. Individualized instruction, field trips, special textbooks, intensified instruction in English, evening tutoring, summer classes, night adult education classes for parents of enrolled children are important features of such programs.
7. Classes for migrant children are integrated.
8. The program includes a pilot project to help prepare potential teachers for future classes of migrants.
9. California has also agreed to a records transfer with other states through which migrants travel in order to facilitate continuity of the educational process.

C.1. Need for more bilingual teachers.
2. Many California school districts have tried to draw money from a variety of national, state, and local resources to fund programs. This has enabled them to expand their programs measurably.

Bordua, David J. Delinquent subculture: sociological interpretations of gang delinquency. Readings in Educating the Disadvantaged. Joe A. Apple, editor. New York, Selected Academic Readings Inc., 1967.

Discussion of four major interpretations of the origins of gang delinquency and delinquent subculture.

B.1. The classical view focusses on the development of spontaneous groups under conditions of weak social control and social disorganization.
2. Two other views emphasize the adjustment problems of lower-class boys, and stress their status deprivation when they fail to

place well on the middle-class measure and the alienation produced when opportunities to achieve universally demanded success goals are denied.

3. The last view is that of the lower-class street gang.
4. Recent theories tend to put forth irrational explanations of gang delinquency and to produce extreme theoretical interpretations.

Brager, George A. and Barr, Sherman. Perceptions and Reality: The Poor Man's View of Social Services. In George A. Brager & Francis P. Purcell (Eds.) Community Action Against Poverty, New Haven College and University Press, 1967.

The poor man's perception of the social services and public programs, which fail to meet his specific needs and requirements, is influenced by various factors.

B.1. Those in the lower strata lack an understanding of bureaucratic problems and regard service systems as structured deliberately to intimidate them.

2. This view is accentuated by the inadequacy of public programs serving the poor, their widespread violation of the legal rights of constituents, and their resistance to constituent influence and challenge.
3. In many families lack of motivation, anomie, alienation and apathy can be traced to the duration and nature of involvement with the Department of Welfare.
4. The structure of social work, owned and operated by middle-class persons, fails to take into account the differing needs and life styles of the poor.
5. The lower strata lack the verbal facility required in traditional psychotherapeutic processes. Few attempts have been made to involve treatment methods more relevant to these less verbal persons.
6. If this type of problem is widespread, the 'unmotivated' client may in fact have been 'demotivated'.

Brager, George A. and Specht, Harry. Social Action by the Poor: Prospects Problems, and Strategies. Community Action Against Poverty, George A. Brager and Francis P. Purcell, editors, New Haven College and University Press, 1967.

Discussion of the role of social protest as a source of increased social participation. This chapter covers the advantages and disadvantages of social protest.

B.1. The advantages of social protest for social action are that the ad hoc groups that emerge out of such movements are a source of increased social participation and of militant leadership.

2. These advantages may simultaneously constitute disadvantages for the sponsoring agencies, which may be held responsible and often criticized for activities of indigenous organizations for which they are not responsible.
3. One defense is to articulate the need for low-income involvement and independence prior to the expected criticism.

B.4. It is also possible to specify the nature and limits of the sponsoring agency's commitment to social protest in its relationship with new organizations.

5. Communication may be diffused and strain reduced by contracting with new organizations, or with old ones which will subcontract, in order to dilute the sponsoring agency's role.

6. These methods of escaping criticism can only be partially effective.

7. Social protest seems the most effective strategy for increasing participation of the poor.

8. It has been successful in bringing about changes in institutions and individuals.

C.1. Whatever the strategy, plans for indigenous community organization must take account of the life styles, feelings, and needs of lower-income persons and the sources which oppose such organization.

Briggs, Vernon Jr. & Marshall, Ray. Equal Apprenticeship Opportunities in New York City, The Education and Training of Racial Minorities, Proceedings of a Conference, the University of Wisconsin, Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, May 1967.

A review of New York City's problems of minority employment and programs to improve minority employment conditions may guide other cities undertaking programs in these areas.

B.1. Although the public agencies have been involved, the private agencies have taken the greatest initiative in resolving the apprenticeship issue in New York.
  a. The Workers Defense League, which has no legal status, has tried to promote apprenticeship, dispense information about specific programs, recruit individuals interested in applying, tutor applicants to pass written examinations, and to conduct follow-up research studies of the successful white and non-white entrants to the program.

2. Such a program was initiated as a result of the state and city human relations commissions and the 1963 demonstrations.
  a. The demonstrations focussed public attention on the problem; the public reports documented the pattern of exclusion, and the legal proceedings eliminated some past inequities.

3. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local Three, helped more Negroes gain access to apprenticeship training in one year than the Workers Defense League has achieved in over 3.5 years.

D.1. The role of other agencies is also discussed and statistics are given on white and non-white participation in apprenticeship.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. Implications of Follow-Through Programs for the American School System, 1968.

An examination of the hypothesis that any educational program for the disadvantaged children must emphasize, apart from cognitive competence, the development of motives and behaviors in children. This is examined in the light of constructive relevant research findings in child development and related fields.

B.1. The influence of environment on the behavior and development of children is classified under five headings.

- a. The potency of models--other people can influence the child by serving as models of desired behavior.
- b. Social reinforcement--other people can act as reinforcing agents by serving as models of desired behavior.
- c. Intensive relationships--the most potent agents in modeling and reinforcement are his parents or other people with whom he becomes closely involved on a day-to-day basis.
- d. Group forces--a child may also be influenced by the group to which it belongs, for example a classroom.
- e. Superordinate goals--facilitate constructive behavior and development in children.

C. Five proposals, representing the major contexts in which the child lives, are put forward. It is suggested that the Follow-Through program must concern themselves with these. These are the classroom, school, family, neighborhood, and larger community.

1. Family involvement in activities of the program in the school, the neighborhood center, and the home.
2. Interaction between older children, both as individuals and groups, and younger children, both within and outside school, in different activities under appropriate supervision.
3. Heterogeneous grouping, arrangements for mutual aid, and group recognition and approval within the classroom and other children's groups.
4. Involvement of the whole school community--other pupils, staff members, administrators--rather than the isolated classroom in the programs.
5. Persons from the child's neighborhood and from other segments of the community should be presented as appropriate models to the child.
6. Using the superordinate goal of concern for young children as a means of involving the entire community in any program for the children.

Brown, Claude; Dunmeyer, Arthur and Ellison, Ralph. Harlem's America. The New Leader, Vol. 49, No. 19, September, 1966.

The testimony of three prominent Negroes to a U.S. Senate subcommittee about life in New York's ghettos which is full of bitterness and disappointment.

B.1. Ghetto environment has a separate 'law' and way of life from the outside world, that sanctiones prostitution, dope pushing, and crimes of violence as accepted occupations.

2. A Negro exodus from the Southern farms to the promised land of New York city took place after the Great Depression.
3. But Negroes had been deceived about slum life, where discrimination was subtler than in the South but still detrimental.
4. Inability to attain the goals of other Americans, supporting a large family, and being subject to continual police exploitation wears a man thin.
5. The high-status person is the underworld member and the stylish dresser.
6. Negroes rebel against out of desperation.

B.7. The present generation of Negroes rejects the myth of Negro inferiority and demands equal share in the good things of America, even if they have to use violence to get them.

C.1. The solution to racial strife must lie in respecting Negroes as individuals.

2. Spiritual reconstruction of the ghetto necessitates involvement of the indigenous community leaders - even if they are dope pushers - and educating the parents.
3. In spite of civil rights acts, the exploitation of Negroes by politicians and businessmen, the ineffectual poverty program, and other harassments are causing a crisis of optimism.
4. To remedy this, it must be viewed as a national problem.
5. Reshaping of cities to allow the fulfilling of their human potential.
6. Freer participation of whites and Negroes in the country's affairs so that racial stereotypes will disappear.

Bullock, P. Equal Opportunity in Employment. Los Angeles, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1966.

A description of laws, and potential practices in regard to fair employment.

B. Merit hiring and advancement practices:
   a. are supported by Federal and local governments; labor; religious and civic organizations,
   b. are given minimal opposition by workers.

Bullock, Paul. On Organizing the Poor: Problems of Morality and Tactics, Dissent, Vol. 15, No. 1, 1968.

Examination of the role of organized groups that have emerged in recent years to represent the needs of the poor. The groups are a) Saul Alinsky and his staff; b) civil rights organizations; c) new left organization predominantly white; and d) certain labor unions.

B.1. These groups concern themselves with practical short-term bread-and-butter issues, none of which fundamentally alter the social system.

2. Some problems which community organizations face are:
   a. people in area expect nimble results in a short time;
   b. poor communities may lack financial resources to support their own organizations with a paid staff;
   c. creation of paid staff positions may give rise to bitter and intense internal competition;
   d. some leaders use their positions to further their own ambition and to achieve middle-class status;
   e. residents tend to be suspicious of organizers due to deep cynicism about motivation until proved trustworthy.
3. Radical New Left organizer is a person who has rejected his middle-class background, but at the same time, his ideas are unrelated to the realities of ghetto life.

C.1. The poor should be free from the tyranny of the bureaucrats and the dogmatic militants alike.

Bureau of Social Research, Follow-up Study of Graduates of Experimental and Demonstration Projects in the Washington D.C. Area, 1966-67. Catholic University, Washington D.C., March 1967.

The drawbacks and achievements of the experimental and demonstration projects to provide employment to the disadvantaged in the Washington D.C. area. The report is based on a follow-up study of the graduates of these projects during 1966-67.

C.1. The most effective means of recruitment was informal contact between youths and indigenous leaders.
2. Little authentic skill training was offered so that one-third of the graduates remained unemployed.
3. Graduates as a group did little better than control youths but liked the training and thought that they had acquired new skills.
4. Staff members led trainees to think that they might expect higher wages and better opportunities.
5. Few of the graduates' employers valued the training received. So training was not an important factor in their being hired.
6. Immediate positive gains gradually disappeared over time until net results were scarcely visible.
7. Each project must have a specific training program with qualified personnel, potential employers, and penalties for poor trainee attendance.
8. Adoption of civil service requirements to absorb disadvantaged youths by federal agencies.
9. Outside review of projects seems valuable.
10. Concentration on a few well-conceived projects.
11. Directors must understand the value system orientation, attitudes and language of hard-core youths.
12. Whenever possible, qualified personnel should be hired.

Cahill, Imogene D. Child-Rearing Practices in Lower Socio-economic Ethnic Groups, The Urban R's by Robert Dentler, Bernard Mackler, and Mary Ellen Warshauer, (ed.) New York, Fredrich A. Praeger, 1967.

The role of ethnogeny and social class in determining child-rearing practices of poor Puerto Rican, Negro, and Caucasion mothers.

A.1. Comparison of child-rearing practices among these three groups showed more similarities than differences.
2. Still, the practices that are different are important ones.
  a. Forty percent of these were variables relating to basic training procedures such as weaning and toilet training.
  b. These variables were related to each other and to more than 60% of the other chi square significant variables.
3. Variables such as aggression, dependency, and anxiety about sex which are important in the socialization and enculturation process, proved to be effected more by ethnogeny than class.
4. a. The mother's responses to dependency were the most significant of the variables which were positive when the chi square was applied.
  b. It is a key to cultural differences, at least as far as these three ethnic groups are concerned.
5. No tolerance of nudity or sex behavior.

A.6. Immediate obedience expected and aggression toward parents not tolerated.
7. Physical punishment is swift and severe with means of control being object-oriented. Withdrawal of live is never used.
8. Aggression for self-protection and independence are valued, except among Puerto Ricans.

B.1. The study demolishes the validity of many stereotypes of the lower class family.
2. There is a culture or subculture of poverty.
3. Social class exerts a stronger influence than ethnogeny does upon child-rearing practices as a whole.
4. On the other hand, though subtle differences in culture make it difficult to evaluate the relative influences of each, the evidence for ethnogeny is over-whelming.

Campbell, Helen Buck. The Experiment and Demonstration Project: Southwest Texas College, San Marcos, Texas. Office of Manpower Planning, Evaluation and Research, Department of Labor, Washington D.C., 1967.

An evaluation of the experiment and demonstration project with five-fold objectives undertaken by Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, Texas, based on follow-up interviews.
Two hundred girls between the ages of 14-16, with an average family income below $2.500 were selected from three Texas counties, 190 of Spanish-American background, five Negro, and five Anglo.

B.1. Nearly all participants considered the program valuable.
2. This program seems to provide help to female dropouts between the ages of 15 and 16 who, according to school records, have a higher rate of dropouts.

C.1. This program should be made a part of local poverty programs.
2. Job training should complement instruction.
3. Parents should be interviewed and instructed to increase parental support.
4. Home interviews should be part of selection procedure.
5. Faculty should exemplify the qualities and characteristics they attempt to instill in enrollees.
6. Classes should not consist of more than 20 members.

Carmichael, Stokely; Charles Hamilton; Robert Coles M.D. & Jonathan Kozol. Black Ghettos: The American Nightmare, The Atlantic, Vol. 220, No. 4, October 1967.

Collection of three articles. The first article "Dynamite" by Carmichael and Hamilton presents an historical account of the Negro migration to the North. In the other two articles, the housing and education problems are given more graphic and human focus.

B.1. a. The first article uses Chicago as an example to show that the oppressed lot of the Negro has remained basically the same even after emigration to the North.
b. Statistics are given on the poor quality of housing and education problems of the Negro by recounting personal experiences of white men who have come in close contact with the Negro in his ghetto environment.

B.3. The second article "Maybe God Will Come and Clean Up", Dr. Coles cites various factors which spark riots. The factors are the squalor of living conditions combined with little or no hope of escape, the intensity of summer heat, and the callous attitudes of representatives of the whites toward Negro problems.

4. In his article "Where Ghetto Schools Fail" Kozol describes how his reading of a Langton Hughes poem to his junior high and grade school students led to his being fired.
   a. It illustrates both the conscious and unconscious racial prejudice which dominate school officials, and
   b. which deprive the Negro child not only of a adequate basic education, but also of a sense of dignity.

Carpenter, Francis A. A Study of the Reading Achievement of Negro Head Start First-grade Students Compared with Non-Head Start First-grade Students. Dissertation, Florida State University, 1967.

A comparison of the reading achievement of disadvantaged first-grade Negro students who had participated in an eight-week Head Start program with those who did not.

A.1. No difference in reading achievement when students were grouped by comparable reading readiness scores.

2. No important differences in reading achievement scores between;
   a. experimental males and females,
   b. experimental and control females,
   c. experimental and control males.

3. Significant difference in the reading achievement means of experimental males who were six years of age and those who were not six when they began first grade.

4. Results show that our eight-week long program is not long enough to prepare disadvantaged Negro children for first-grade reading.

5. Test results indicated a beginning status of predicted non-success.

C.1. Analysis of compensatory programs of varying lengths to determine the necessary minimum time to prepare these children for first-grade reading experiences.

2. Curricula to be devised to compensate for the various aspects of deprivation resulting in lack of readiness to learn to read.

Cataldo, Everett F.; Johnson, Richard M. & Kellstedt, Lyman A. Political Attitudes of the Urban Poor: Some Implications for Policy Makers, presented at 1968 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Asso-iation, Washington D.C., 1968.

Programs aimed to solve the problems of urban America must be based on policies appropriate to the problems of race and poverty. Policy must benefit one segment of society and also be accepted by those who are not the immediate beneficiaries.

Data taken from a sample of attitudes of over 1,000 persons in the Buffalo area in late 1966-67.

A.1. Two separate societies exist, black and white.

2. However, blacks have observed progress in the past few years and share with most whites an optimistic view of the future.

3. Blacks feel that their everyday life situation, including jobs,

housing, and education, is tied to government action.

A.4. a. They also see concepts such as justice, civil rights and civil liberties in terms of government action.

b. This view differs from that of most whites, who question government activity to improve the lot of blacks.

C.1. The following conditions must exist for programs on urban America to succeed.

a. Black citizens must have faith in the ability of America to deal with their problems.

b. Programs must be related to the problems and policy preferences of blacks.

c. Policies must not meet resistance by the white majority.

Chertow, Doris S. Project Head Start: The Urban and Rural Challenge. Metropolitan Studies Center, Syracuse University, New York, 1968.

Study of the administration of Head Start Centers in two urban communities and two rural school districts in upstate New York during the 1966-67 school year.

Comparative analysis in terms of community socio-economic characteristics, administrative organization, pupil recruitment, staff, parent involvement, and follow-through.

A.1. Racial and ethnic homogeneity was the rule for rural but not urban areas.

2. Poverty indices and population mobility were highest at the large city core.

3. More hard-core emotional disturbances were uncovered among pupils in the large city than elsewhere.

4. Rural areas lack resources for supportive services.

5. Core cities face problems arising from racial heterogeneity.

B.1. Administrative environment of a medium-sized city, large enough to support a community action agency encompassing Head Start, offers optimum conditions for realizing the coordinated aims fo the anti-poverty program.

Clark, K.B. Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

An analysis of political, religious, economic and intellectual power structure of the ghetto and how to bring about change.

B.1. Dynamics of the ghetto in part a result of Negroes who want to destroy it and whites who want to maintain it.

2. Negroes inferior racial status leads to low aspirations, poor education, family instability, illegitimacy, unemployment, crime, drugs, alcohol, illness and early death, doubting true worth and self and grouphatred.

C.1. Liberalism must use social power with social action to deal directly with desired objectives and not be for appearances.

2. Teaching must be based upon positive expectations of pupil achievement.

Clark, K.B.: Educational Stimulation of Racially Disadvantaged Children. In A.H. Passow (Ed.) Education in Depressed Areas, New York, Columbia University Teachers College Press, 1965.

Discussion of problems and report of a forerunner of a higher horizon project.

C.1. School is crucial in determining a child's achievement level. It is necessary to gather data to determine role of the following in determining achievement.
  a. Pupil attitude towards children.
  b. Children's perspective of themselves, their teachers and their schools.
2. Adequate stimulation to raise I.Q. scores is necessary.
3. Children should not be grouped on basis of I.Q.; high I.Q. children should help children of low I.Q.
4. Racially integrated schools, opportunity for children in having success in school, single academic standards, demanding syllabus and skillful teaching are essential to build children's self-confidence.
5. Junior high school 43, pre Higher Harrison project is to determine if the activities of the school alone could raise performance of disadvantaged children. Children selected for superior intellectual functioning.
  a. Program included: systematic counseling, cultural enrichment program, parent education, remedial reading, mathematics, and language.
  b. Higher achievement, higher teacher morale, increased greater parent aspiration for their children.
  c. He urges (of course) adoption of systematic educational programsto develop potential of low status children.

Clark, Kenneth B. The Present Dilemma of the Negro. Paper. Annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council, November 2, 1967.

A dilemma of America is whether the Negro should be accepted as a human being and permitted rights and privileges accorded to other human beings in the political system. The Negro's dilemma is whether to insist upon rights without regard to consequences or whether to withdraw.

B.1. Another dilemma of Negro life is the fact that civil rights movement has widened the cleavage between middle-class Negroes and masses of Negroes.
2. Tokens of racial progress have led to increased and more open hostility toward middle-class Negroes.
3. The problem of race relations in America today are similar to those of post-reconsturction period.
  a. However, whereas the promises of racial progress were reversed in the nineteenth century by the fanaticism of white segregationists, the present racial retrogression comes from the fanaticism of black separatists.

C.1. Realistic reappraisal of the state of race relations in America is necessary to prevent a repetition of racial retrogression.
2. Realistic analysis of our times for developing effective remedies.
3. To counteract the Black Power movement, which is a powerful

political reality, whites and Negroes must join together to determine whether human intelligence and training is a form of power which can be used constructively in the quest of urban and racial problems.

Clark, Kenneth B. Alternative Public School Systems, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968.

Discussion of segregation in American public schools and of the inefficiency of the schools for Negro and other underprivileged children.

A.1. De facto segregation in schools obstructs economic mobility and intensifies class distinction.
2. Obstacles to integrated education are
a. inviolability of the neighbourhood school concept,
b. prejudices of school boards, parents and taxpayer groups,
c. the black power movement.
C.1. Two-front attack on the problem proposed.
a. to develop a system-wide educational enrichment program to attain excellence in schools of Negro children,
b. to develop an effective program for desegregation of school systems.
2. Several steps to achieve this are suggested.
3. However, rigidity in public school organization is a hindrance to attain the twin goals of improvement in quality of education and desegregation.
4. Possible alternatives to the public school system suggested. These are:
a. regional state schools,
b. federal regional schools,
c. college and university-related open schools,
d. industrial demonstration schools,
e. labor sponsored schools,
f. army schools.

Cloud, Ralph Martin. The Management of an anti-poverty Program: A Case Study of Economic Opportunity, Atlanta Incorporated. Dissertation, University of Georgia, 1967.

Use of Chandlerian approach to explain organizational growth stemming from predetermined strategies in a case study of a new social service organization designed to combat poverty in Atlanta.
The case study takes up the most important element, and object, of the war--marginal man--and shows some reasons for his present social noncontribution. It is based on the author's observations, experience and access to records, for the first 18 months of organizational life as part-time managerial consultant with the organization.

B.1. His potential ability to share with society according to his own limits is determined by a man's education, opportunity, ethnicity, and other meaningful variables treated in the nature of random and chance factor.
a. The meaning this has for organizational staffing, structuring, operations, and image-building is explained.

B.2. The interactions of marginal-man, professional organizational man, and the programs determining the scope and thrust of socio-politico-economic prescriptions are related to one another.

C.1. Long-range strategy, shorter-range tactics and the ensuing actions of organizational poverty fighters can become operational in terms of selected efforts, such as Job Corps, to achieve some degree of success in the opening battles of what seems to be a long war.

Cloward, R.A. & Jones, J.A. Social Class: Educational Attitudes and Participation. In H.A. Passow (Ed.) Education in Depressed Areas. New York, Columbia Teacher College Press, 1966.

An interview survey to examine attitudes and actions toward education by social class.

A.1. Evaluations of the importance of education in lower and working classes is influenced by occupational aspirations.

2. Participation in educational activities (PTA, school visitation, etc.) influences attitudes towards education particularly in lower class.

C.1. Information campaigns to educate low income people as to rapid changes in occupational structure, e.g. decreasing numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs may serve to increase occupational aspirations and therefore the importance of education.

2. Programs to increase the lower classes participation in school and to increase their interest in education of their children. This interest may be a basis for administration to achieve needed improvements.

Cloward, Richard A., & Ontell, Robert. Our Illusions About Training. American Child, Vol. 47, No. 1, January 1965.

Employment Training programs for youth should abandon their obsession with motivating their trainees. Instead, their goal should be to upgrade educational competence and job skills.

A.1. Of the first 1,700 youths who applied to Mobilization for Youth in New York City, three-fourths found no employment--as result of the program.

2. One-fourth found intermittent, marginal, low-paying jobs.

3. Mobilization is now convinced that the chief target in the attack upon youth unemployment should be better education.

B.1. Two credible reasons for failure of employment training programs:
a. awareness of the part of slum youths that few jobs await them upon completion of training.
b. lack of education and skills to make them competent for any specific occupation.

2. Such youths do not need the non-skills, like grooming, promptness and 'positive attitudes toward work', which the present education system imparts.

3. Central problem is that few jobs are available to youths who lack skills and these youths do not expect to find any.

4. Educators can show that there are fewer dropouts than in the past. Reading retardation, common among slum youths, is less severe than in the past.

B.5. However, low-skilled jobs, available in the past, are no longer there.
6. Slum youths will not find and hold jobs with their present educational and skill incompetence. And, unlike the program planners, they know it.

C.1. Instead of emphasizing improved motivation, training programs should focus on remedial education and specific skills for occupations which actually have jobs available after education.
2. The educational system needs to be changed. So far it has not educated low-income children.

Cohen, David K. Policy for the Public Schools: Compensation and Integration, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968.

Discussion of the policies of compensatory education for Negroes and of desegregation in public schools--their relative merits and demerits.

B.1. Evidence indicates that compensatory programs in schools isolated by race and social class do not bring about lasting or substantial improvement in students academic ability.
2. Compensatory programs institutionalize segregation and thereby compound racism.
3. Racial desegregation is the necessary concomitant of social-class desegregation required to produce the fullest academic benefits, for the Negro students.
4. Specific racial conditions for academically sound desegregated situations are interracial acceptance, classroom desegregation, and minimal tension.
5. Although a national policy will from long term view be more effective than one of segregated compensatory education, two considerations must be taken account of.
   a. Desegregation only reduces and does not eliminate the gap between the distribution of achievement for Negroes and whites.
   b. Racial and social class demography in the older and larger cities requires a metropolitan approach to school desegregation such as educational parks.
6. Financially, politically, socially, and educationally, the benefits of consolidation would be manifold.

Cohn, W. On the language of lower class children. In Joe A. Apple (Ed.) Readings in Educating the Disadvantaged Child, 1967.

B.1. Teachers, and society generally, consider Negro English to be inferior and that it can't express intellectual ideas and emphasizes feelings.
2. Some visitors and upper class resort to it to express feelings.
3. Teachers may not respect the value of non-standard English because of their dependency on 'pure' English to show their class superiority.
4. It is difficult for children to learn standard English when it is not used by family and friends and teachers devalue their language.

C.1. Teachers teach grammar through analysis of non-standard English.
2. Teachers should teach standard English and its advantage without rejecting non-standard.

Coles, Robert. Like It Is in the Alley, Daedalus, Vol. 97, No. 4, Fall 1968.

This article describes life in a Boston ghetto for nine-year-old Peter and his mother, focussing on the lack of medical care in his life. It helps throw light on the normal life of a ghetto child.

B.1. Peter is a grim and unhappy child who does not trust white people, his family or his neighbors.
2. He has learned to be careful and calculating.
3. He finds school meaningless.
4. He takes disease and pain for granted; until he met the author he had never seen a doctor or a dentist.
5. His father died prematurely; Peter and his mother do not take advantage of the free medical care; the hospital is far, car-fare is expensive, and they would have to wait a long time for their turn.
6. Peter had to be treated for various deficiencies after he was taken to the hospital by the author.

Conyers, James E. and Farmer, William J. Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., January 1968.

Survey of social and background factors, attitudes about Negro-white relations, toward the city of Atlanta, civil rights approaches, self-concept, level of aspiration, etc. of 688 students from five all-Negro high schools in Atlanta.

A.1. Considerable dissatisfaction with the environment.
   a. Two-thirds of the listed neighborhood facilities and services were negatively evaluated by 34% of the respondents.
   b. One-third or more gave negative reactions to 11 of 14 listed aspects of city life in Atlanta.
2. 30% of the males and 25% of the females expressed a desire for substantial or total change in their self-image.
3. 96% indicated a desire to remain in high school until graduation and 86% hoped to continue their education beyond high school.
4. Average respondent was not militant in measuring attitudes toward racial problems.
5. Disapproval of separatist Black Power or defeatist views, and only 8% seemed willing to participate in a riot.
6. 73% approved of NAACP, 72% of SCLC, and 55% of CORE.
7. Civil rights approaches ranging in militancy from educational programs to street demonstrations and economic boycotts were approved by large majorities.
8. Regarding the committing of delinquent acts, only traffic violations, alcohol violations, truancy, and gang fights were admitted by more than 10%.
9. Majority supported basic religious values and views.

Sample questionnaire is in the appendix.

Davis, Helen. Medical Considerations for Poor Children, Perspectives in the Education of Disadvantaged Children. Cowles (Ed.), Cleveland, World Publishing Co., 1967.

Success of public health programs for disadvantaged children will depend on the awareness of the special problems of these children, a concentrated effort of a medical team, coordination of these efforts, and the cooperation of school and community officials.

C.1. Ideally the medical team should consist of a pediatrician, a social worker, public health nurse, a psychologist and a psychiatrist, dentist, and nutritionist.
2. When a full team is not available, other members must fill un-met needs.
3. The basic medical care program should include physical examinations remedial care for abnormalities discovered, immunization, dental examination and treatment, health education, and screening tests.
4. In referral, coordination and communication are vital.
5. The assistance of hospital social workers and welfare workers should be enlisted to keep the school informed of clinic results.
6. Adequate referral services will require that the medical team be ingenious and aggressive in finding services to meet needs.

Davis, James W. Jr. & Kenneth Dolbeare. Who Gets Drafted? Madison, Wis., University of Wisconsin, Institute for Research on Poverty, 1967.

Analysis of selective service procedures in Wisconsin to determine whether the system operates unequally upon persons in lower income groups, together with recommendations for changes in the operation of the system.

A.1. Such relatively large proportions of higher income men qualify for deferment that the Army is disproportionately staffed by lower income men.
2. Similarly, large proportions of low-income areas see service, despite the fact that they have higher proportions of unfit men.
3. Thus, physically acceptable men in such areas have considerably higher liability than their counterparts in higher income areas.
4. In the negro areas with a high unfitness rate, there still was a percentage of men in the armed forces similar to that existing in higher income white areas.

B.1. Present deferment policies draw into the armed forces a disproportionate number of Negroes who are physically qualified.
2. No systematic variation within the selective service system related to such potential variables as the number of veterans on boards, or the personal attitudes of board members toward the selective service system.
3. Actions of appeal boards were highly individualized, and appeared to fill no standardizing function.

C.1. Three steps are proposed to deal with the greatest inequities in conscription and establish a rational balance between efficiency and equity:
   a. The elimination of all but the most essential deferments, especially the student deferment, which is the most discriminatory.
   b. The induction of those between the ages eighteen and nineteen.
   c. The institution of random selection to be made at age 18.

Della-Dora, Delmo. The Culturally Disadvantaged: Further Observations. Readings in Educating the Disadvantaged. Joe A. Apple, Editor, Selected Academic Readings Inc., New York, 1963.

School personnel should join the fight against poverty and segregation which hamper the development of school children. Action within the community and the school should be inaugurated.

B.1. Within the city, elementary schools serve small neighborhoods which usually house residents of one race, ethnic group, or socio-economic class.
2. Thus these children are separate and receive unequal educational opportunities. Schools help to maintain the status quo.
3. The teachers social class background (upper-lower to lower-middle) causes them to be upwardly mobile. They expect little of lower class children, know them less intimately and reject and punish them more often.

C.1. Acknowledging the clear effects of community problems on the school, schools should work to change the community.
2. Four broad areas of action should receive high priority.
   a. School administrators should meet regularly with groups which are making improvements in housing, jobs, health, and community development, and instead of taking on functions of other agencies, schools should spear-head the coordination of a community-wide study.
   b. Schools should teach culturally deprived children and their parents to raise their low levels of aspiration and low self-esteem.
   c. Study units which stress causative aspects of human behavior will teach self-insight.
   d. Extensive study time should be given to teachers and administrators to analyze together their negative attitudes toward lower-class children and to decide how to change these attitudes and teaching methods in order to reach these children more effectively.

Dentler, Robert A. Poverty, Major American Social Problems, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1967.

This is the first half of a chapter which focusses on the causes, effects and meaning of poverty, the second half of the chapter contains three papers on "Poverty in the United States", "Social Security" and "Some Proposals for Government Policy in an Automating Society".

A.1. One-fifth of American population takes in less than half of what is required to subsist.
2. Another one-fifth approximates the income required for subsistence.

B.1. Price, income, level of living, politics, and economic deprivation are related to poverty.
2. The cause of American poverty is not scarcity, but the political and economic organization of a society designed for conditions of scarcity and the ethics of work and profit.
3. Poverty is a national social problem since it induces anxiety, failure, illiteracy and ignorance, morbidity and premature

mortality, and blighted communities.

B.4. Pathology, which is generated by poverty, absorbs public and private services and transfers funds that could otherwise be diverted to more productive ends.

5. This, in turn, influences conditions abroad, since the survival of American society depends upon internal conditions.

Denton, John H. Apartheid American Style, Berkeley, California, Diablo Press, 1967.

This book analyzes the issues discussed at the National Legal Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, held in Berkeley in 1965. The role played by organized realtors in bringing about separation of black and white Americans is illustrated by using California as an example.

B.1. The ghetto system means not only segregated housing but systematic exclusion of minority citizens from ownership of income producing property, businesses, and other real estate outside the Ghettos.

2. National Association of Real Estate Boards uses economic, social, political, and legal power to perpetuate the ghetto system giving rise to many problems like, for example
   a. De facto school segregation.
   b. Inadequate representation of minorities in politics and government,
   c. Isolation of minority population in the central cities, where job opportunities are shrinking.

3. National Association of Real Estate Boards won an effective campaign for Proposition 14, an initiative constitutional amendment which had been adopted by the California electorate in the November 1964 election, by misrepresenting the law to the voters.

4. Discussion of private law groups, the function of lending institutions in maintaining de facto segregation, and the part played by government officials at all levels of government.

5. Also discussed are the processes of initiative, referendum, and recall--their purpose, application, and recommended reforms.

Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States, BLS Report No. 332, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., October 1967.

Statistical study of the social and economic condition of Negroes in the United States. Data collected from census or federal government studies.

A.1. Signs of improvement for Negroes in some sections and deterioration in others.

2. Despite increase in Negro incomes, the Negro family income is only 58 percent of white family income.

3. Over 28% of non-white families receive more than $6000 a year, yet one out of three non-white families is classified as poor.

4. Unemployment rates for non-whites are twice those of whites, yet for non-white married men the rate has dropped faster during the last five years than for white married men.

A.5. Improvement in education for non-whites.
6. Number of non-whites in professional, white-collar, and skilled jobs went up by nearly half during the past six years.
7. A survey of 12 cities which special censuses have been taken shows increased rates of segregation in eight cities.
8. Ten percent of all Negro families have lived all their lives in rural areas with little opportunity for improvement.
9. Another ten percent have incomes below the poverty line and live in poor neighborhoods of large cities.
10. Uneven social and economic progress among Negroes is illustrated in the results of a census in Cleveland.
    a. Between 1960 and 1965 Negro families outside of the poor neighborhoods made major gains.
    b. Average incomes rose and the incidence of poverty and the number of broken families were reduced.
    c. But in the poorest neighborhoods, all of these social indicators showed decline.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. Equality of Educational Opportunity, OE 38000, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1966.

Report to the President and Congress submitted by U.S. Commissioner of Education. It is based on a statistical survey, the largest of its kind ever made in 1965, and concludes that the great majority of children in the country attend schools which are largely segregated.

A.1. Equal educational opportunities are still denied most Negroes despite the fact that 12 years have elapsed since the school desegregation decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.
2. Negro pupils have access to fewer of the facilities related to academic achievement, such as language and chemistry laboratories, and fewer library books per pupil.
3. Teachers in Negro schools are found to be less able, on the average, than those in white schools.
4. The average Negro has fewer classmates whose mothers graduated from high school.
5. The education gap between Negro and white pupils appears to increase rather than decrease as they go on from grade to grade. Nor does this gap narrow in colleges.
6. The social and economic background of a child has more effect on his academic achievement than does the school itself, as far as equipment and teachers go.
7. But for the disadvantaged pupil with a deprived social and economic home background, the situation is reversed, pupils there will suffer more in a low quality school than will the average white pupil.
8. Teacher quality more important for minority pupil than for that of the majority.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. National Conference on Education of the Disadvantaged, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1966.

Preliminary report of the proceedings of the National Conference on Education of the Disadvantaged, July 18-20, 1966 in Washington D.C.

B.1. On the whole, money coming from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is yielding some badly needed reforms.
2. One of the central problems of the disadvantaged child is that he has not learned to substitute delayed and profitable rewards for immediate gratification.
3. To change the middle-class attitudes, which are responsible for many failures of the Negro, the teacher should learn more about the background of the student.
4. The teacher should have a control system which would avoid over-indulgence as well as hostility, and acknowledge the enormous range of differences among the disadvantaged.
5. The schools must apply directly to the principle of equality of opportunity.
6. The needs of the future are essential and must be met--the need to break the cycle of poverty.

C.1. The training and reorientation of the teacher can occur in the university and in in-service programs.
2. Change in the curriculum of the middle class university teacher's program to enable greater understanding of the disadvantaged child.
3. Or the ghetto school program should be made more attractive to the teachers.
4. Approaches to curriculum and learning should relate to the experience of the disadvantaged child.
5. Remedial programs in the basic skills are not as effective as preventive or compensatory programs.
6. Education should be personalized and teachers trained to be sensitive to individual needs.
7. Involve the parent and the community to insure success in the program. School should not be isolated from the community.
8. Research and evaluation are the keys to change in the schools.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Schools in the City, Title 1/Year 11, The Second Annual Report of Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School Year 1966-67. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Report of a study examining the effects of Title 1 on academic achievement in large cities. It focusses on achievement in reading and arithmetic as measured by standardized tests before and after the conduct of Title 1 projects during the 1966-67 academic year.

A.1. The projects reported greater rate of student achievement than was expected for low-income area schools.
2. Title 1 reading projects have a positive effect on the achievement of educationally deprived children.
3. The grade equivalent achievement rate in arithmetic was nearly a month's gain for each month of instruction.

A.4. For the schools examined, the 1966-67 figures showed a gain of five percentage points over the previous year in holding power in Title 1 schools by grade 12.

5. Grade-by-grade improvement and evidence of academic progress.

B.1. a. However, the extent of the gains is no cause for satisfaction.

b. Without community change, today's disadvantaged children will grow up to be another wasted generation.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Title 1 Child, Title 1/Year 11, Second Annual Report of Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School year 1966-67. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Discussion of the educational deficiency characterizing Title 1 children.

A.1. Close relationship between the academic achievement of a child, his parents' educational level, and his family's income.

a. According to the 1960 census data, more than 40% of the children with fathers having less than eight years of school and annual incomes of less than $3,000 were reported a year or more behind their grade levels.

2. As a group, Title 1 children rank below the national norm in reading.

3. They have a low rate of attendance and a high dropout rate.

4. Data from 16 states show that dropout rate is decreasing--most frequently for grades eight and nine, grades which often mark the end of school for disadvantaged youngsters.

5. Rate of increase and the actual increase in those continuing their education after high school was higher in Title 1 schools than in non-Title 1 schools.

B.1. Subjective measurements from principals, teachers, and parents report progress, especially if the child is receiving a comprehensive program relevant to his needs.

2. a. Most evaluation designs do not take into account changes, like frequent movement of children from school to school and in and out of programs.

b. If they did, most school systems would not be rich enough to implement them.

Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Title 1/Year 11. Second Annual Report of Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School Year 1966-67. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Discussion of the achievements and drawbacks of Title 1 programs.

A.1. It is preventing many disadvantaged youngsters from falling behind their more fortunate peers in scholastic progress.

2. Title 1 youngsters are attaining higher levels of achievement according to national testing norms.

3. The dropout rate in Title 1 schools has decreased.

B.1. Title 1 is treating only the most seriously deprived children and does not reach millions of youngsters with acute educational handicaps.

2. Despite achievements, the Title 1 child is still far behind the

average student.

B.3. Too early to determine whether it is contributing to major educational change in the United States.
4. Some of its intended effects, such as reducing the dropout rate, cannot be fully measured for another decade.
5. Measurement itself has presented serious difficulties.

Department of Labor. Adequacy of worker's earnings, Manpower Report to the President, including a report on Manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training. Transmitted to Congress, April 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

A discussion on recent and pending improvements in minimum wage standards. It focusses on the annual earnings, particularly the magnitude of the low-earner problems.

A.1. About 10 million, or one out of every five non-supervisory workers in private employment, receive less than $1.60/hr. in cash wages during 1968.
2. Nearly 8.3 million workers in private employment are still unprotected by either federal or state requirements.
3. Most of these workers are in agriculture, retail trade, and the services, particularly domestic services where the problem of low hourly wages is most widespread and serious.
4. More than 4 out of 5 workers in domestic service, and nearly 1 out of 5 in agriculture, have money wages of under $1.00/hr.
5. In 1966 3.2 million earned less than $3,000. However their number was substantially less than in 1961.
6. Along with the increase in low earning, there was an increase in the proportion of workers earning more than $10,000.
7. Since income grew proportionately at all earning levels there has been no lessening of inequities of distribution.
8. Compared to 7% of whites who work a whole year, 25% of non-whites who work a whole year, were low-earners. Steadily employed non-white men experienced a higher incidence of low-earnings than whites.
9. Concentration of non-white men in low-paying occupations.
10. More than 1 in 4 fully employed women received less than $3,000 compared with 1 in 10 of the men. This is because most of them are in low-paid services.
11. Only 12% of steadily employed women are family heads.
12. However, the earnings of the women are essential to keep away poverty.

C.1. Provision of high skilled labor and the elimination of involuntary part-year and part-time work for non-whites.
2. Discriminatory pay scales and hiring practices must be eliminated, and the workers' earnings potential must be upgraded through better training, promotion opportunities and more job security.

Department of Labor. Barriers to Employment, Manpower Report to the President, including one report on Manpower requirements, resources, utilization and training. Transmitted to Congress, April 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Personal, environmental, and institutional obstacles that stand between disadvantaged workers and jobs. The social psychological factors involved in the job behavior of low-income Negroes and others who have difficulty in getting and keeping jobs include attitudes, aspirations, motivation, willingness to defer gratification, and self-image.

An examination of literature on the subject suggests three conclusions:

1. Since the disadvantaged are not homogeneous, what may be characteristic of the most troubled individuals in this category may not be generally applicable to the disadvantaged.
2. The dividing line between employability and the lack of it is not fixed.
3. The extent to which these difficulties are the immediate factor in sub-employment is unclear.

A.1. Among the personal factors are lack of basic education and command of Standard English; lack of essential work skills; health problems and lack of adequate medical care; personal appearance and grooming; lack of adequate child care facilities; lack of knowledge of how to go about a job; and inadequate transportation facilities which limits access to jobs.

2. The most important institutional barrier is discrimination, not only in hiring but in promotion as well.
   a. Use of screening tests without any evidence that they are related to performance on the job.
   b. The same standard of test performance is applied to applicants when jobs of different levels of skill within the same plant.

3. Use of tests under these circumstances may result in excluding workers with low-levels of education or limited command of English from jobs they could handle.

4. The current job structure in many companies retards the upgrading of workers whose previous positions could then be filled by the sub-employed, and it restricts the down-grading of jobs in order to open them to the sub-employed.

C.1. Two approaches to policy are suggested.
   a. The necessity of efforts to modify the attitudes of the disadvantaged before introducing them to job situations.
   b. Bringing the sub-employed into the job situation and then adding the activities and services that are needed to influence their attitudes and their ability to handle the demands of work.

2. No one program will succeed with all.

Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Negro in the West... Some Facts Relating to Social and Economic Conditions: I. San Francisco: The Negro Worker.

Data on employment and working conditions of the Negro worker in the West in 1960.

A.1. In 1964, about 8% of the nation's negroes were in the West. Almost 93% of these lived in the cities in 1960.

2. Negro unemployment rates were about double those for whites in most sex and age groups.

3. The West has proportionately more Negro craftsmen and professionals than any other region and is second to the Northeast in relative

number of clericals and managers, although these rates for these occupations still fall far below those of white workers.

A.4. Almost 40% of all Negro male workers in the West held unskilled laborer or semi-skilled operative jobs compared to 23% of Western white workers.
5. Concentration of Negro workers in less desirable occupations is true for both men and women. Less than 24% of Negro women held white-collar jobs compared with more than 63% of white women, while 50% of Negro women were service workers compared to 19% of white women workers.
6. Out of 300,000 employed Negroes, there were fewer than 500 physicians and surgeons, 250 lawyers, 150 dentists, and 1,000 engineers.
7. In the skilled crafts, there were only 700 electricians, 700 plumbers, and pipefitters, and 2,350 carpenters.
8. Other non-white workers fared much better than the Negro.
99. Occupational patterns of Chinese and Japanese workers compared favorably with those of white workers.

B.1. The Negro is better off in the West than in the United States as a whole, but social and economic patterns are similar.

Department of Labor. Bridging the Gap from School to Work: The Problem. Manpower Report to the President, including a report of Manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training. Transmitted to Congress, April 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

This section focusses on the gap from school to work and youth unemployment and under-employment.

A.1. Youths in the 14-19 year-old group from families with yearly income level of less than $3,000 have unemployment rates of 17.4%. Earning rates for youths from families with incomes of $10,000 or more is 7.7%. These rates double the national average and quadruple adult rates.
2. Unemployment is difficult to measure due to lack of data on extension from the job market, under-employment, or frustrating occupational misfits that may lead to quick unemployment.
3. Youth under-employment is also difficult to measure. In 1967, 9.4% of the teenage full-time labor force of 343,000 young people working part-time for economic reasons, compared with a rate of only 2.9% of persons ages 20 and over.
4. College graduates have tremendous advantage in entering the world of work. In March 1967, for example, 20-24 year-olds with a college degree had an unemployment rate of only 1.4% compared with 5.3% of those with a high school diploma, and 10.5% of those who had completed only 8 years of school.

B.1. There are many elements which help youths make the transition from school to work. These are teachers, counselors, social workers, youth programs, the employment service etc.
2. Recent study suggests that the function of the parent has not been properly studied in this process.
   a. In instances where the father had graduated from high school, about 80% of persons aged 25-34 also graduate.
   b. When the father did not graduate from high school, less than 67% in this age group received high school diplomas.

C.1. There is need to supplement the activities of the parents through activities such as Head Start.

Department of Labor. Equality of Opportunity, Manpower Report to the President including a report of Manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training. Transmitted to Congress, April 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

An overview of the equality of educational and occupational opportunity in the United States between 1960 and 1967, based on statistical data.

Description of the educational achievement, occupational distribution and employment and unemployment situation of other minorities, such as Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and American Indians, compared against the whites and Negroes.

A.1. Between 1960 and 1967 there has been a 16% increase in the employed non-white workers, compared to 13% increase for white workers.
2. In spite of decrease in unemployment for non-white and white workers, the ratio still remains 2 to 1.
3. The 1967 unemployment rates for non-white teenagers increased 2.5 times compared to white teenagers.
4. Decrease in joblessness among workers 20 years and older. The differential for married men of this age group is narrower than in 1962.
5. High percentage increase of non-white workers in high skill, high status, high paying occupations, and significant increase in professional, clerical and skilled occupations.
   a. There were 900,000 sub-jobs out of the 1 million added jobs for non-whites that were developed from 1960 to 1966.
   b. However, there was a smaller number of non-whites in these jobs at the beginning of the decade. That in 1966 their proportion in low-paid, low-skilled jobs were still more than double the proportion for white workers.
6. According to the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission 1966 study, occupational discrimination against Negro men increases in relation to the concentration of Negroes in a given industry, to the level of education of the Negroes involved, and to the proportion of the industry's employment found in the South. Negro women are not penalized as their educational level rises.
7. Between 1960 and 1967 the proportion of non-white men, 25 to 64 years of age not in the labor force, rose from 73 to 91 per 1,000 people; among white men, the increase was from 47 to 55.
8. Average income remains much lower for Negro than for white families, despite some some narrowing of differential.
   a. Increasing proportion of non-white families earning $7,000 or more.
   b. Reduction of non-white families living in poverty.
9. Gains in educational achievement:
   a. For men, 25-29 years of age, a gap between non-whites and whites in years of school completed has been reduced from 2 years in 1960 to 1/2 year in 1966.
   b. The proportion of male Negro college graduates between 25

and 34 years has almost doubled.

A.10. While there are indications of progress for the Negro, the position of the rural poor and the slum dwellers is degenerating.

11. Indians have a poorer educational preparation than the Mexican-Americans.

12. In 1966 3/4 of Indian reservation families had cash incomes of less than $2,000.

13. In addition to low income, many Indians had suffered from poor health, deficient education, unfamiliarity with English, lack of marketable skills, and high unemployment.

14. Low educational level and language barriers are also handicaps to Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, forcing their concentration into low-paying jobs.

C.1. Apart from the opportunity for occupational upgrading, there is need for increased opportunities for entrance into the high-paid, skilled jobs.

Department of Labor. Joblessness and Under-employment. Manpower Report to the President, including a report on Manpower requirements, resources, utilization and training. Transmitted to Congress 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Report on unemployment and under-employment in the United States in 1966.

A.1. More than 11 million American workers were jobless or out of work sometime during 1966. Almost 4 times the average number, relatively speaking (2.9 million) unemployed during any one particular year.
   a. 45% were employed from 1 to 4 weeks.
   b. Unemployment due to voluntary job changes, delay in finding work upon entry or re-entry into the labor force, and seasonal lay-offs.
   c. Job placement service is the main source for jobs for those who sought help.
   d. 3.4 million workers with 5 to 14 weeks of employment.
   e. 2.7 million workers were out of work for 15 or more weeks. More than one million of these spent most of 1966 looking for work and jobless.

2. Weekly figures give a better picture of unemployment than do the monthly labor force surveys.
   a. About 4 times as many workers as indicated by the monthly surveys actually had 5 or more weeks without work during 1966.
   b. The corresponding ratio for those out of work 15-26 weeks was more than 5 to 1.

3. Two to one ratio of unemployment between non-white and white workers is borne out by these data.
   a. About 12% of all non-white workers had 5 weeks or more of unemployment in 1966, compared with 6% of all white workers.
   b. Non-white unskilled workers were more seriously affected--one out of five unemployed for 5 weeks or more during 1966.

4. In spite of decrease of unemployment between 1961 and 1966, the proportionate workers with repeated unemployment did not decline as much, in relative terms, than the over-all proportion of workers with many weeks of joblessness.

5. Part-time work is the most measurable form of under-employment.

A.5. a. About 2 million full-time workers were on part-time work for economic reasons in an average week of 1966. Majority of these were men.
b. Nearly a million were only on part-time work because of material shortages, repairs, new jobs or no full-time work available.
c. Most part-time workers were in trade and service industries, including household employment.
6. More non-whites than whites are employed part-time.
B.1. The proportion of unemployed men below normal retirement age has been rising.
2. A high proportion of slum dropouts are neither working or looking for work.
3. Persons with limited education are more likely to be out of the labor force.
4. Many older workers need and wish to continue in paid employment.
5. Many of the women cannot work due to lack of child care facilities.
6. Illness and disability keep many from physically demanding jobs and sometimes from any job.
7. 250,000 men and 500,000 women who were not looking for work because they believed it would not be possible to find any jobs, were the group of greatest concern from the viewpoint of Manpower policies.
C.1. Information required on various factors, e.g. the geographic concentration of joblessness and under-employment, impact of part-time employment for economic reasons during the years as a whole, number of employed persons looking for jobs, duration of the largest spell of unemployment, and the effects of inadequate training and educational unemployment, etc.
2. Procedures should be developed to make the work experience survey results available more promptly.

Department of Labor. The Sub-employed. Manpower Report to the President including a report on Manpower requirements, resources, utilization and training. Transmitted to Congress, April 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

The concept of sub-employment broadens the traditional notion of attachment to the labor force and introduces the issue of equality of employment as represented by the level of wages. Any meaningful count of the disadvantaged or the sub-employed in the areas of the country's large metropolitan centers would exceed the half million found to be employed in March 1966. A minimal estimate of sub-employment in these areas is 1.5 million.

A.1. The residents of poverty areas include above average proportions of all their people; of widowed, of divorced and separated persons; of households headed by women; and of members of ethnic minority groups.
2. Nevertheless, according to the March 1966 survey, white people outnumber non-whites by 3 to 2 in urban poverty areas.
3. Non-whites predominate only in the very worst slums.
4. Non-whites represent the majority of the poverty area unemployed

because of their high rate of unemployment.

A.5. A recent study of New York showed while the unemployment rate for Negro males aged 25 and over was lower (8%) than the 16-19 year group (33%) and the 20-24 year group (13%), the oldest group represented 60% of all unemployed Negro men.

C.1. Manpower policy must be as much concerned with the employment needs of adult men in the ghettos as it is with jobless youths.

2. Public policy must recognize the variations in social characteristics among slum residents and also take account of the positive aspects of the situation.

   a. Nearly 2/3 of families in poverty areas in 1966 were headed by men, and the proportion of large families was no higher there than in the nation in general.

   b. Although more of the employed workers in poverty areas serve in the country's work force as a whole in service and laboring jobs, the proportion in such jobs was only 1 out of 3; the number in higher level occupations was twice as large.

Department of Labor. Sub-Employment in the Slums of Boston, 1967.

Report of household surveys conducted in 1966 in the South End-Roxbury-Norh Dorchester slums of Boston on rates of sub-employment, which includes unemployment, part-time work, low-paid full-time work, the labor force dropouts who have given up, etc.

A.1. a. Unemployment rate in Boston slums is 6.8% as compared with 3.4% for the Boston Metropolitan areas as a whole.

b. The sub-employment rate is 24.2%; 6.8% of the work force was jobless.

2. The employment rate for teenagers was 21.1%.

3. More than 18% of the employed worked only part-time.

4. Median family income was $4,224 per year, compared with a national figure of $6,300.

5. 66% of the unemployed did not graduate from high school.

6. 37.1% of family units were headed by women.

7. 70% of the population was non-white.

B.1. Inadequate training and education, health problems, crime, and welfare fund availability are main elements contributing to sub-employment.

2. Many unemployed were willing to improve their chances of getting satisfactory jobs.

Department of Labor. Sub-employment in the Slums of Cleveland, 1967.

Report of a household survey, conducted in four slums in April 1965, determining the causes and rate of sub-employment.

A.1. Unemployment rate for the slums of Cleveland was 15.5% as compared with 2.4% for the Cleveland metropolitan area as a whole.

2. Sub-employment rate was about 50%.

3. Unemployment rate for out-of-school youths was 58%.

4. Following are the characteristics of a sub-employed population:

   a. Negroes form 81 to 96% of the slums' residents, depending on the neighborhood.

   b. The population is relatively young, with 43% of the residents being under 20 years of age compared to 35% in the rest of Cleveland.

A.4. c. Sharp variation between the age distributions of white and Negro populations. Only 24% of the white population was under 21, compared with 48% for the Negro population.

d. Percentage of families headed by women was higher in all neighborhoods in 1965 than it was in 1960.

Department of Labor. Sub-employment in the Slums of Los Angeles, 1967.

Report on sub-employment and the characteristics of the sub-employed in the slum of Los Angeles. Data were taken from household surveys made by the Bureau of Census in 1965, the University of California in 1964, and other studies and reports.

A.1. Unemployment rate for South Central Los Angeles in 1965 was 10.7% as compared with 4.2% for the Los Angeles metropolitan area as a whole.
2. Sub-employment rate was about 33.3%
3. 27% of the families had annual incomes under $3,000, the median family income figure was $4,736, reaching a low of $3,803 in Watts and $3,743 in Central. The National figure is $6,300.
4. The sub-employed had the following characteristics:
   a. 81% of the population was Negro.
   b. 10% was white with Spanish surnames.
   c. 65% of persons age 25 and over had not completed high school, and 39% had not gone beyond the eighth grade.
   d. 26% of families were headed by women.

Department of Labor. Sub-Employment in the Slums of Oakland, 1967.

Report of a survey conducted by the University of California at Berkeley in 1966 to determine the characteristics and rate of sub-employment in the Bayside slum area of Oakland.

A.1. Compared to a rate of 4.5% for the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area as a whole the unemployment rate for Bayside slum area was 13%.
2. Sub-employment rate was 30%.
3. Unemployment rate for teenagers was 41%.
4. 24% of families had annual incomes under $3,000; the figure for the rest of Oakland was 11.5%.
5. 42.3% of residents were under 20 years of age, indicating a concentration in the younger age group.
6. 60% of residents were Negroes, and about 8% were Mexican-Americans.
7. Nearly 20% of Bayside's workers are laborers, compared with 4.4% of the rest of Oakland's workers.
8. Over 75% of the city's other workers are in either white-collar or craft jobs compared to only 40% of Bayside's workers.

Department of Labor. Sub-Employment in the Slums of San Antonio, 1967.

Report of a household survey, conducted in November 1966, to determine the sub-employment and unemployment rate in the slum area of San Antonio.

A.1. Unemployment rate was 8% as compared with a rate of 4.2% for

the San Antonio metropolitan area as a whole.
2. Sub-employment rate was 47.4%.
3. Unemployment rate for teenagers was 24.6%.
4. Median family income was $2,876 per year as compared with a national figure of $6,300.
5. 70% of the unemployed did not graduate from high school, 48% did not go beyond the eighth grade, 6.5% had not gone to school at all.
6. 29% of families were headed by women.
7. 25.4% of families included six or more members.
8. 84% in the neighborhoods were Mexican-Americans.

Department of Labor. Sub-Employment in the Slums of San Francisco, 1967.
Report of a household survey on sub-employment in the Fillmore-Mission district of San Francisco.

A.1. Unemployment rate was 11% in this area as compared with 4.5% for the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area as a whole.
2. Sub-employment rate was 25%.
3. Unemployment rate among teenagers was 35.7%.
4. Median family income was $4,208 as compared with the national figure of $6,300.
5. Relevant characteristics of the population are the following:
   a. 48% of the unemployed did not graduate from high school.
   b. 32% of family units were headed by women.
   c. 51% of the residents were non-white, virtually all Negroes.

Department of Labor. Sub-Employment in the Slums of New York, 1967.
A survey of sub-employment in the three slum areas of New York--Central Harlem, East Harlem, and Bedford-Stuyvesant--conducted in November 1966.

A.1. Unemployment rate ranged from 6.2 to 8.1% as compared to 4.0% for the New York metropolitan area as a whole.
2. The sub-employment rate ranged from 28 to 34%.
3. The teenage unemployment rate ranged from 20 to 27.8%.
4. Median family income ranged from $3,907 to $4,763 as compared to a national figure of $6,300.
5. Following are the characteristics of this population group that are relevant to the problem:
   a. Poor education--among the unemployed, 18.1 to 22.6% failed to go beyond the eighth grade.
   b. 33.8 to 42.5% of families were headed by females.
   c. 29.2 to 38.8% of women were either widowed or divorced or separated.

Department of Labor. Sub-Employment in the Slums of Philadelphia, 1967.
Report on sub-employment in the slums of North Philadelphia based on a household survey conducted in November 1966.

A.1. Unemployment rate was 11% as compared with 2.8% for the Philadelphia metropolitan area as a whole.
2. Sub-employment rate was 34%.
3. Unemployment rate for teenagers was 27%.

A.4. Median family income was $3,392 per year as compared with a national figure for $6,300.
5. 70% of the unemployed did not graduate from high school.
6. 38% of family units were headed by women.
7. 15% of the families consisted of six or more members.
8. 89% of population was non-white.
9. Uenemployed were concentrated in the younger age group.

Department of Labor. Ways of Improving the Transition Process, Manpower Report to the President, including a report on Manpower requirements, resources, utilization and training. Transmitted to Congress, April 1968. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Discussion of different approaches to bridge the school-work transition. Four such approaches are suggested in this section.

A.1. 8 out of 10 school dropouts and 4 out of 10 high school graduates have never had employment counseling by school or employment officials.
2. No school counselors in 13% of the nation's secondary schools and 90% of its elementary schools.
3. Only Massachusetts and the Virgin Islands meet the U.S.O.E. basic standard of one counselor for every 300 students.
4. In 1963 only 7% of high school graduates and 3% of dropouts had supervised work experience.
5. Only 50% of high school students and a smaller proportion of dropouts are reached by the Employment Service's part-time cooperative school program.

C.1. Substantial improvements in educational curriculums and more linkages to the reality of the work world will improve job preparation of youths.
2. Schools should assume increased responsibility for the actual job placement of their graduates.
3. Knowledge of job opportunities far beyond a school district or even a labor area implied by such a responsibility, calls for the information network available to the Employment Service System.

Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. The Detroit Riot: A Profile of 500 Prisoners. March 1968.

The social background of participants in the Detroit riot of July 1967 and its causes.

Social, psychological and economic background of 496 arrested participants, by the Department of Labor with the Behavior Research Institute of Detroit. More extensive information collected for 157 of those interviewed. All the interviewers (19) were Negroes.

A.1. Data gather on various aspect of the prisoners, for example, the nature of their jobs and weekly earning, their home situation, etc. The findings revealed that:
a. The typical prisoner was a single man, just over 30 years of age.
b. Protestant by religion but not a regular church-goer.
c. A non-veteran, dropped out of school by 11th grade.

d. Born in the South and had lived in Detroit for 15 years or more.
e. A blue-collar worker in manufacturing plant, earning about $120 per week.
f. Although currently employed he had experienced more than 5 weeks of unemployment in the past year.
g. Non-participant in a government training or poverty program.
h. Martin Luther King was his favorite leader and looked at non-violence as the best way to achieve civil rights.
i. He felt that for himself and for Detroit Negroes, conditions had improved in general in the last few years.

A.2. About half of the prisoners were in debt.
3. According to the prisoners, police brutality, poor housing, lack of job opportunities, and tensions and frustrations contributed to the causes of the riot.

Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. Young Workers, a reprint from the 1966 Manpower Report, Washington D.C. 1966.

A reprint of a chapter in a report to the president.

A.1. 6/10 of men, 4/10 of women aged 16 to 21 were working or looking for work in 1965. (9.1 million, or 12% of total work force).
2. 12% of all out-of-school youth were unemployed in 1964. For males, 1/12 of whites, 1/8 of non-whites who were not in school, were unemployed. 35% of these believed they could not get a job, the others were ill, disabled, waiting to get in armed services, or in job training.
3. For females 14% out-of-school females were unemployed in October 1964. 44% of these not looking for work nor working.
4. 2/3 unemployed males and over 1/2 of unemployed females had held full-time jobs.
5. Dropouts: Unemployment rate is 28% in 1963 for male high school dropouts, 15% for males with high school diploma, ages 16 to 21.

C.1. Youth Programs designed to solve problems include:
a. Manpower Development and Training Act.
b. Skilled training program.
c. Neighborhood Youth Corps.
d. Job Corps.
2. Goals for future education programs:
a. Pupils taught to read carefully.
b. Math skills taught in early years.
c. Education must accommodate to special needs of individual pupils.
d. Smaller classes.
e. In-service training.
f. Broadened non-academic curriculum.
g. Strengthened counseling services.
h. Improved teaching techniques for teaching disadvantaged to help under-achiever.
i. Free education two years beyond high school.
j. Stronger vocational education.

Department of Labor, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training. Young Workers: Their Special Training Needs, Manpower Research Bulletin No. 3, May 1963.

Unemployment among non-college youths and solutions to this problem.

A.1. Within the next three years, five and one-half million (or three out of four) youths entering the labor market will have a high school education or less.
   a. They will face problems due to inadequate education, lack of jobs, and the unique handicaps of the disadvantaged.
2. Decrease in jobs and increase in number of young workers will combine to cause the greatest difficulty in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and West Virginia.
3. Increasing proportion of teenagers working while still remaining in school has a slightly mitigating effect.
4. Besides inexperience and lack of education, many youth job-seekers have specific problems such as poverty, racial discrimination, delinquency, lack of employment in rural areas, and physical and mental handicaps.
5. Racial discrimination is a very important factor in non-white unemployment; approximately twice as many non-white teenagers are unemployed as white, and the disparity is increasing.
6. Unemployment contributes to juvenile delinquency. Youths from rural areas and children of migratory workers lack the training to compete for jobs in urban areas.

C.1. Present training programs are inadequate.
2. High school vocational training is not realistically oriented toward preparing students for the future national labor market.
3. Federal or state training for the handicapped and other federal programs concentrate on the adult population with little regard for the teenager.
4. In private industry, the apprenticeship is usually found to be most effective for training, but is not widely used due to lack of openings.

Derryck, Dennis A. Minority Youth Can be Apprentices, Occupational Outlook Quarterly, December 1967.

Description of Joint Apprenticeship program developed by the Workers' Defense League of New York City to increase non-white participation in apprenticeship programs.

C.1. This program shows that the economically disadvantaged can gain entry to, and succeed in, apprenticeship training.
2. Joint Apprenticeship tests the applicant and describes various crafts to stimulate the applicant's interest in applying for apprenticeship.
3. 75-hour tutorial program for apprentices.
4. Follow-up services offered such as indenture fee assistance, etc. to keep the young men in training.
5. Entry requirements which deter applicants are police records, state residency requirements, high school grade point averages, and a selection process favoring a college preparatory track.
6. Joint Apprenticeship's placement success is proved by statistics.
7. Important role in disseminating information about apprenticeship opportunities alone.

Deutsch, Cynthia. Learning in the Disadvantaged. Paper. Conference on Analysis of Conceptual Learning at the Research and Development Center for Learning and Re-education, University of Wisconsin, 1965.

Examination of the learning processes of the disadvantaged to show that the social environment of the disadvantaged child impedes his linguistic, perceptual and attentional abilities.

A.1. In the homes of the disadvantaged, the parents talk less with the children and have fewer books or magazines available.
2. As a result, they have a simpler grammar and fewer descriptive terms in their repertoire than others.
3. Mental process of verbal mediation is less developed.
4. Enrichment programs indicate that verbal abilities of pre-schoolers can be raised, though it is still unsure that it will remain after reversal of several years.
5. Data using the Wepman test suggest a lessened ability of disadvantaged children to differentiate the sounds of word endings.
6. Their social milieu does not prepare them for a strange and difficult school environment.
7. Development of a selective hierarchy by which certain information is tuned in or tuned out.
8. Children with learning disabilities have defective or slow abilities of attention.
C.1. Method and rate of presenting learning material must be geared to the child's attention span.
2. Compensatory training can help the child who has basic lacks in linguistic, perceptual, and attentional abilities.
3. The disadvantaged child should be given experiences that are tailored and interpreted to remedy his deficiencies.

Deutsch, Cynthia P. Some effects of poverty on children, Perspectives in the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Cowles (Ed.) Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1967.

Discussion of effects of poverty on children which cause deficits in skills necessary for effective school learning and ways to reverse these deficits.

B.1. The reversal can be achieved with carefully planned pre-school programs.
2. Necessity of understanding the child's deficits before such programs can be developed.
A.1. The deficits are physical, social, emotional, and cognitive.
2. Physically, slum dwellers are more prone to malnutrition, disease, disability, premature births and other paranatal disorders, and physical difficulties arising from lack of early diagnosis and treatment of minor ailments.
3. Social effects of poverty include the high percentage of broken homes, the lack of adequate male role models at home, and alienation from society.
4. Emotional problems of concern among school children are motivation and self-concepts.
C.1. It is necessary to change teachers' attitudes towards these children and to raise the teacher's concept of what the child

can accomplish with their help.

C.2. Little research has been done into the effects of deprivation on cognition. What little research has been done shows that absence of early stimulation is extremely detrimental.

3. Emphasis on identification of those environmental aspects which contribute to this effect.

Bibliography.

Deutsch, Martin et al. The Disadvantaged Child, New York, Basic Books Inc., 1968.

Research and Theoretical material has been brought together in this book to show relationships among environment, society, school and individual psychological development.

C.1. Schools' responsibility to revise methods and curriculum to remove this discontinuity for the disadvantaged pupil.

D.1. Research reports which divide global environmental variables into those related to school performance and to formal intelligence measures are included.

2. Reports which define elements underlying school performance measures.

3. Discussion of influence of classroom organization on school performance.

4. Discontinuity between lower-class home and middle-class oriented school is an acute problem for the poor.

5. The hidden curriculum of the middle-class home is continuous with--or identical to--the school curriculum.

Deutsch, Martin. Social and Psychological Perspectives on the Development of the Disadvantaged Learner, The Journal of Negro Education, Summer 1964.

Great need to provide a pre-school environment for the lower-class child which will make his adaptation to school easier.

A.1. 20 to 40% of our population live in a sub-society of social, economic, and educational impoverishment.

2. By the time they leave the elementary schools, 60% of the lower class children are retarded two years or more.

3. When the lower-class child enters the school he is already behind his middle-class classmate.

B.1. Great gap separating the educator and his concept from the classroom teacher and her idea.

2. Society has been unable to absorb unskilled, under-educated youths because technological and social changes have decreased the number of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

3. Major curriculum renovations, enrichment programs, new systems for teaching mathematics, programmed courses and teaching machines are probably least applicable to those children who are underachievers since they assume that a child has mastered certain skills.

C.1. Development of a program to compensate the deprived child for the deficiencies in his background before he enters school.

2. Need to develop new methods.

3. Pre-school enrichment programs stressing the use of educational

materials can provide the stimulus that will give a child an opportunity to select individually important materials.

C.4. Language should be the core of such a program.
5. Improvement in language, memory, auditory discrimination, and environmental orientation through training.

Dizard, Jan E. Why Should Negroes Work? In Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J.A. Miller (Eds.) Negroes and Jobs, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1968.

This paper challenges the assumption that Negroes and whites share the same basic evaluations of the 'System'--occupational, social and political and analyzes the inter-related topics of identity, pathology and employment.

B.1. The popular view of the Negro community is far too undifferentiated.
2. a. Academic as well as programmatic approaches to Negro unemployment ignore one basic feature of ghetto life: a dislike of whites and an ambivalence toward the institutions of white society.
   b. Euphemisms such as 'hard-to-reach' only avoid this basic fact, which has important implications for understanding employment patterns and strategies for easing Negro employment.
3. Given discrimination and deprivation, these are two types of apathy which may result:
   a. The apathy of one who is rejected or fails in the society he inspires to become part of.
   b. The apathy of one who rejects the society's standards and is looking for a way to change them by either creating his own judgements or changing society's.
4. a. Retraining programs and the like may suffice for the first.
   b. But for the second, individual treatment seems doomed from the start.
5. For him who rejects the society's standards, problems are not of his own making, since society has failed in justly distributing its rewards.
6. Training and retraining is not helpful because basic interests are at stake.

Doob, Christopher Bates. The Development of Peer Group Relationships Among Puerto Rican Boys in East Harlem. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1967.

An exploratory study of the development of peer group relationships among Puerto Rican youth in East Harlem. Ten individual cases and six group activities were examined. Participant-observation research undertaken for eight months (June 1966 - February 1967). Informants were boys and young men living on one block in East Harlem and workers in local community development organization.

A.1. Number of conceptual conclusions arrived at:
   a. Youths of firm peer groups with differential effectiveness to seek collective goals.
   b. These peer groups drew their members from different territorial ranges.
2. A typology of peer groups is developed based upon effectiveness

and range.

A.3. Examination of various factors that are instrumental in the origins of the different types.

Discussion of future avenues of research.

Duncan, Otis Dudley. Patterns of Occupational Mobility Among Negro Men, presented at 1967 Meeting of the Population Association of America, Inc., April 27-29, 1967, Cincinnati, abstracted in Population Index, Vol. 33, No. 3, July-September 1967.

Analysis of the findings of the survey of "Occupational changes in a Generation",,(specifically the mobility tables for Negro and non-Negro men 25-64 years of age) conducted by the Bureau of Census in March 1962.

A.1. In 1962 majority of Negro men regardless of social origins, had manual jobs as operatives, service workers or labourers.
2. Negroes had only a slight advantage if they had grown up in a family with the head in the higher white-collar level of professional and managerial workers and proprietors.
3. By contrast, majority of non-Negro men (mainly white) with favourable social origins remained at the higher white-collar level.
4. Negro men born at the lower levels were likely to remain there.
5. Negro men originating at higher levels were likely to move down, while the white men were likely to stay there.

B.1. In general, the social origins of Negroes are not as favourable as those of whites.
2. But social origins provide only a partial explanation of racial differences in occupational achievement.
3. Inequalities within the process of mobility have a greater effect on racial differences in occupational achievement.

Durkin, Roderick. Breaking the Poverty Cycle: A Strategy and Its Evaluation, 1967.

An outline of a procedure for the evaluation of Sage Hill Camp, a small, non-profit work camp in Colorado designed to help break the poverty cycle by removing teenage boys from a poverty perpetuating milieu and introducing the influences of a non-poverty milieu.

C.1. A program of guided group interaction techniques seeks to develop some of the necessary motivations, interpersonal skills and attitudes.
2. A poor boy's attitudes, interpersonal style of relating, and motivations are critical in affecting the outcome of implicit decisions that lead to the perpetuation of poverty.
3. This balance can be shifted by imposing new social forces mediated through the Sage Hill Camp program.
   a. The camp group is kept together during the school year to support the individual when he is re-exposed to the pressures of poverty-perpetuating reference groups.
   b. Attitudes toward work, authority, self-esteem, cooperation, the rights of others, and achievement are some of the factors which the program attempts to influence by increasing the appeals of the non-poverty life.

Dyer, Henry S. School Factors and Equal Educational Opportunity. Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968.

Discussion of the role of the school and of pupil background in influencing student achievement.

A.1. Separate regression analyses were performed on each of ten groups: Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indian-Americans, Oriental-Americans, Northern Negroes, Southern Negroes, Northern Whites, Southern Whites, all Negroes and all whites.
2. Survey of three earlier studies of the effect of schooling on achievement and cognitive development where conclusions contradict Coleman Report finding.
3. Central thesis of Coleman Report is that attributes of other students affect the achievement of individual students in the school, regardless of their background.
4. The three studies conclude that the differential effects of school on pupil achievement arise, not mainly from factors within the school system, but from factors outside the school.
5. Coleman Report criticized for giving the schools the impression that they could not do much to improve the achievement of pupils.
6. School characteristics influencing achievement are determined by sorting 45 school characteristic variables into correlates and non-correlates of pupil achievement.
7. Comparison of correlates and non-correlates shows that:
   a. A relatively large number of correlates in some minority groups as compared to the white majority.
   b. Majority of items related to characteristics of pupils and teachers.
   c. Functional school characteristics are hard to change, while non-functional ones are easy-to-change.

Eaton, Joseph W. The Immobile Poor. In Thomas D. Sherrard (Ed.) Social Welfare and Urban Problems, New York, Columbia University Press, 1968.

Examination of various issues confronted by the immobile poor, as for example, the aged; broken families, especially those headed by women; unemployed and under-employed, due to lack of skills.

B.1. Abolition of poverty, though a goal for America, lacks majority support.
2. a. Gross national product can improve standard of living and abolish poverty.
   b. The ballot can abolish poverty but it is not sufficient.
3. Social change essential to remove poverty for only equality of opportunity (not equality of rights) can be legislated. Social Change required to establish equality of rights.
4. Ghettos are vehicles of upward mobility.
5. But Negroes have few such ghettos; they reside in segregated areas against their preferences.

C.1. Following steps are proposed to abolish inequities:
   a. Development of welfare agencies ranging from special nursery schools to programs for the aged.
   b. Abolition of residence and discrimination against strangers.
   c. Planning for mobile people who form a growing proportion

of the population of every urban center.

C.2. Upward mobility requires a basis for enhancing self-esteem apart from improvement in standard of living.
3. Negroes need leadership organizations who will give their cause top priority.
4. Difference between upward mobility and mere improvement in standard of living. Negroes need upward mobility.

Eckland, Bruce J. Sociological Perspectives on Genetics and Equal Opportunity. Presented at the 1967 meeting of the Population Association of America, Inc., April 27-29, 1967, Cincinnati. Abstracted in Population Index, Vol. 33, No. 3, July-September 1967.

Genetic inequality as a basis of social inequality in social ability and educational achievement.

B.1. Sociologists are no longer justified in disregarding the genetic factor while emphasizing the role of the environment in the standard, or inter-generational mobility models.
2. Since mental functioning is made a principal criterion for the ascription of status, however, it is increasingly unlikely that the same proportion of children from each class will have equal capacities to take advantage of their opportunities.
3. To estimate the role of genetic factors in social inequality in educational achievement the author suggests the insertion of some real and some theoretical correlations in path-analysis matrix.
4. It is possible to estimate the probable range within which the indirect effects of the father's education on the son's education operate through a genetic pathway, linked by the genotypes and phenotypes of the father's and son's levels of intelligence.
5. The magnitude of the genetic link depends largely on the assortative mating coefficient.
6. When this coefficient is very large almost all the indirect effects of the father's education on the son's education can be attributed to genetics.
7. Yet even if the coefficient of assortative mating were negligible, the genetic link would explain roughly one-half of these effects, that is, those effects that are mediated through the father's and son's intelligence.

Edkstein, Otto. Education, Employment, and Negro Equality. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Washington D.C., October 1968.

In spite of the economic goal of full equality for Negroes, they will be in a disadvantaged position in 1985 at the present rate of progress.

A.1. In 1985 there will be 420,000 Negro managers and proprietors compared to an equality target of 1.33 million.

C.1. To maintain the present rate of progress in professional and technical jobs, the proportion of Negro college graduates must rise even more rapidly in the future.

C.2. To increase the number of young Negroes completing high school and college:
   a. The Neighborhood Youth Corps must be strengthened.
   b. Special grants based on performance should be set up under Title 1 of the Civil Rights Act to reward those school districts which demonstrate that they are doing an outstanding job in helping the children of the poor.
   c. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 should be expanded.
   d. Colleges and universities must seek Negro applicants.
3. Redesign jobs and provide access to more specific vocational skills through apprentiship programs, vocational schools, manpower training plicies, or on-the-job experience.
4. Intensification of Negro recruitment by companies and unions.
5. In the case of the white-collar job ladder, equality in education and employer co-operation are vital.
6. In the case of the blue-collar job ladder, the union movement must carry much of the responsibility.
7. Families of Negro children must accept their share of the responsibility for the education of their children.

Eisenberg, Leon. Social Class and Individual Development. Reprint from Crosscurrents, 1967.

Social class and individual development are related insofar as the developmental process results from the interaction between organism and environment.

B.1. Nutrition, diesease and brain development. The importance of adequate diet and the interrelationships between diet, infection, treatment methods, and level of brain development are stressed.
2. Cognitive stimulation and intellectual performance--an attempt is made to understand the demonstrated test inferiority of children and adolescents of the lowest social class.
   a. Inherited difference in intellectual potential is discounted.
   b. The doctrine of early deprivation, like the doctrine of heredity, implies the futility of remedial measures within the school.
3. Life experience and self-concept. The discussion of self-concept is limited to one area--the extent to which the individual feels capable of attaining success through his own efforts.
   a. The feeling is not developed in the home environment of the deprived child, and school becomes the place where he discovers what he cannot do.
   b. The school's mental health responsibility is to enable the child to develop a sense of competence.
   c. Developmental theory has implications for public policy, especially in the area of remediation of pathology in behavior.

Endres, Mary P. The Impact of Parent Education Through Study - Discussion Groups in a Poverty Area, The Journal of Marriage and the Family, Vol. 30, No. 1, February 1968.

An experimental parent education program in a midwestern school system. Discussion of the responses of participants concerning value of the course, use made of learnings, and changed feelings.

C.1. Their responses contrast with the child-rearing patterns of poor families reported in the literature.
2. They seemed to profit from the nurturance of small groups and the knowledge that all parents have problems.
3. After the study discussion series, parents report they listen to their children, think about reasons before they punish, control their tempers, encourage their children, and show affection for them.
4. Two unanticipated needs emerged from the study:
   a. There should be more films and other visual aids for the program.
   b. There should be a multiplied version of the basic materials in English and Spanish.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Employment Opportunities for Minorities in New York City: An Introduction, January 1968.

Employment opportunities for non-white minorities in office white-collar positions and industries other than retail trade and the medical services industry.

A.1. Total exclusion of minorities from white collar jobs is common. Of the 4249 reporting establishments, 43% had no Negroes at the white-collar level.
2, Non-white minorities fared poorly in managerial, professional, and sales occupations but did better in technical and clerical categories.
3. Significant variation among specific industries in utilization of minorities.
4. Wherever non-white men comprise a small proportion of white-collar workers, non-white females tended to comprise a smaller percentage of female white-collar workers.
5. Even if non-whites achieve white-collar status, they do not always obtain the income levels of whites in the same occupational categories.

B.1. Lack of skills and educational attainment alone cannot explain minority under-utilization in white-collar jobs.
2. a. Discriminating attitude against women in many business areas.
   b. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, men received higher wages for the same work in ten out of fourteen office and clerical occupations.
3. New York's Jewish population is under-utilized at the higher white-collar levels.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *White Collar Employment in the New York City Communications Industries*, January 1968.

A.1. Representation of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in these jobs is substantially below both their proportion of the city's population and the city-wide average for over-all minority white-collar employment.

2. Significant differences in utilization of the various minorities in white-collar jobs.
    a. Negroes form 18% and Puerto Ricans 10% of New York City population.
    b. Negroes ranged from 3.9% in radio/TV to 2.5% in advertising agencies.
    c. Puerto Ricans ranged from 2.5% in book publishing to 0.9% in radio/TV.
3. Minority employment would be even lower if it were not for a few employers.
4. No significant increase among the communications employers as a group in minority participation from 1966 to 1967.
5. In a very few firms, special recruiting efforts or revised selection have brought unusual results though principally at the clerical level.
6. Better opportunities for women above the clerical level in the communications industries than in other industry groups studied.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *White-Collar Employment in 100 major New York City Corporations*, January 1968.

White-collar employment of minorities in a variety of manufacturing and service industries, excluding finance and communications.

A.1. a. They lag significantly behind the New York City average in the general white-collar employment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and
    b. In utilization of women at the official/manager, professional and technician levels.

2. Comparison of their employment practices of these companies with those of comparable group of non-profit organizations illustrates the lack of equal opportunity leadership.
    a. In spite of having only about one-sixth as many white-collar workers in total, the non-profits employ about one half as many Negro officials/managers, four times as many Negro professionals and one and one half times as many Negro technicians.
3. Less effective implementation of equal employment policies in New York City than in their branch offices.
4. The 46 companies which publicly pledged affirmative action have done less about minority employment than the 54 companies which did not make a public pledge.
5. Some companies have successfully utilized minority workers.
6. Changes in minority employment since 1966 showed a slight improvement among the 100 companies, but nowhere near that seen in the financial group.

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. White-Collar Employment in the New York City Financial Community, January 1968.

White-collar employment of minorities by banks, insurance companies, brokerage firms, accounting and law firms in New York City.

A.1. Outside the retail and medical service industries, 22% of the 820,000 white-collar workers were employed by banks, insurance companies and brokerage firms.
2. Substantially low proportional representation of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in these jobs.
3. Banking and insurance, however, rank high in over-all employment mainly in clerical jobs of both minorities compared to other employer groups.
4. Other industries have more people from both minorities in higher paying white-collar jobs.
5. Clerical hiring brough dramatic increases in Negro employment among the largest banks and insurance companies in 1967 compared with 1966.
6. More women in higher paying white-collar jobs in banking and insurance and communications.

B.1. Industry averages tell an incomplete story because of significant variations in minority white-collar employment among the dominant employers in each segment of the financial community.
2. Thus differences in application of equal employment policies and practices produce the varying results.

Erwin, Kate. Low-Income Winston-Salem Citizens Earn as they Prepare for New Careers, American Education, Vol. 4, No. 5, May 1968.

Report on one of the 39 new careers programs started in the country in September 1967, to train and place low-income people in entry level positions in human service areas.

The program enrollees in Winston-Salem included 75 Negroes and 25 whites, at least 22 years old.

C.1. All are within the poverty income bracket.
2. The average level of education is tenth grade.
3. Half the time is spent on the job and half in core groups learning skills, forming attitudes, and talking out job problems.
4. Salaries of the trainees are paid by the Federal Government.
5. The prospect of a regular job means a great deal to the enrollees in New Careers.
6. Many are going to night school for their high school diplomas or making plans to finish college.
7. New career jobs are as aides to professionals and offer advancement to the professional level itself.
8. Most service agencies in Winston-Salem have opened jobs to new career enrollees.

Some case studies are presented.

Farley, Reynolds. The Urbanization of Negroes in the United States. Journal of Social History, Vol. 1, No. 3, Spring 1968.

A historical study of Negro urban migration in the South from the post-Civil War period to 1960.

A.1. Despite years of out-migration, the number of Negroes in the South has grown from about 8 million at the turn of the century to 11.25 million in 1960.

B.1. Rural Negro population will continue to decrease.
  2. Rural-farm population will drop as aggregation occurs in agriculture.
  3. With the expansion of large Southern cities and industrialization to smaller cities, Negroes can work as non-farm workers while living in rural areas. This may increase rural, non-farm Negro population like it did from 1950 to 1960.
  4. With the growth of Southern cities, the Negro urban population will increase.
  5. In spite of so many years of out-migration, it is difficult to predict the volume or direction of this out-migration.
    a. If the rates of 1950 persist, the number of out-migrants will be larger.
    b. However, increased economic opportunities in some regions of the South, such as Florida and Texas, may combine with decreasing economic opportunities in larger cities to reduce out-migration of certain Negroes.

Farmer, James. Providing Mobility for America's Immobile Population. The Education and Training of Racial Minorities. Proceedings of Conference, The University of Wisconsin, Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, May 1967.

Discussion of the widening income gap between the Negroes and whites and between the middle and lower classes of Negroes in America.

B.1. In the 13 years of civil rights revolution, the upper- and middle-class Negro has attained greater mobility while the position of the lower class Negroes has worsened.
  2. While de juri segregation is doomed, de facto segregation is flourishing.
  3. In labor, the minority poor have not been trained to take the positions that are being opened.

C.1. Mobility for the lowr classes lies in the job training and in economic development of the ghetto community.
    a. The ghetto must become a producer as well as a consumer.
  2. Housing and school problems must be solved.
  3. Outmoded apprenticeship techniques should be replaced by programmed methods.
  4. A special need for training in management skills so that the Negro can lead the Negro up.
  5. The ghetto community must also become increasingly active in politics so as to receive a share in the power structure.
  6. An over-all approach required for advance on many different fronts.

Ferry, W.H. Farewell to Integration, The Center Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 3, March 1968.

A radical transfirmation in current American attitudes is necessary to achieve Black-white integration. Current effort at improvements in the ghetto are aimed at prevention of civil disorders and at assuaging the white conscience and not at integration.

B.1. Three significant factors to be taken account of while considering Negro-white relations:
  a. Our major cities will become predominantly Black in less than a generation.
  b. Racial integration is impossible in the United States.
  c. Within a few years the United States will have to evolve a political theory that will maintain democratic institutions along with providing an ethnically separated minority community.
2. Questions of political control will arise when the largest cities will have Black majorities.
3. The liberal view of Black progress is just a myth.
  a. Blacks are relatively worse off today after integration became enshrined as the hope of America.
  b. They consistently lag a generation behind whites.
  c. Current racial situation is marked by growing violence, disillusionment, isolation of the Black middle-class, and useless 'treaties' between Blacks and whites.

C.1. Solutions should not rely on science and technology, establishment of colonies outside the boundaries of the nation, colonies of Blacks within this country or systematic repression and violence.
2. Achievement of psychological sovereignity that whites take for granted, by Blacks is a necessity.
3. Black-white relations should aim at corespect and peaceful coexistence.

Fogel, Walter A. The Effects of Low Educational Attainment and Discrimination on the Occupational Status of Racial Minorities. The Education and Training of Racial Minorities, 1968.

This statistical analysis of the job problems of disadvantaged ethnic minorities distinguishes two general causes; low educational attainment; and non-schooling factors, including discrimination, aspirations, and quality of educational attainment.

A.1. For Negroes, influences other than amount of schooling are more important in bringing about their inferior occupational patterns.
2. Negroes are employed in the managerial, sales, and craft occupations much less frequently than can be accounted for by their educational attainment.
3. Occupational preferences and aspirations can be important, but the most important influence on the inferior occupational structures of disadvantaged minorities is discrimination.

C.1. Substantial efforts to remove discriminatory barriers to these three occupations must be made; improvement in amount of quality of education will not be sufficient.
2. Examination of education-job results; the un-schooled should not be labeled as unfit for any but the most menial jobs.

Fogel, Walter. Mexican-Americans in Southwest Labor Markets, Advance Report No. 10 of the Mexican-American Study Project. Los Angeles: Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, October 1967.

Detailed study of the Mexican-American, including a general description of his labor market position in the Southwest, differences in the economic position of Mexican-Americans, intergenerational labor market experiences, geographic mobility, relative earnings, and comparison with other disadvantaged minorities.

A.1. The labor market experience of Mexican-American males is less favorable than white males when comparing incomes, occupations, and employment indicators. The experience of the female is better than the male.
2. Their position is better than that of Negroes and other non-whites.
3. The labor market position of urban Mexican-Americans varies from state to state: best in California, worst in Texas.
4. The incidence of high achievement in incomes and occupations almost doubles between the first and second generation, but generally does not advance much in the third.

B.1. It will take a long time to close the economic gap between Mexican-Americans and the white population.
2. Several reasons for their disadvantaged position: Low job qualifications, especially low level of educational attainment and inadequate command of the English language; residing in declining or slowly growing economic areas of the Southwest; and discrimination.

Frazier, Alexander et al. Educating the Children of the Poor, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Education Association, Washington D.C. 1968.

Description of programs for children of disadvantaged backgrounds, deficits in present efforts, and the need for research.

C.1. Ethnic stereotypes must be abandoned if progress is to be made.
2. New concepts of the educational program are demanded.
3. Keeping students from dropping out of school is not enough.
4. Good programs of curriculum development and teacher education are needed.
5. A prevention program is more likely than a remedial program to work.
6. a. Administrative arrangements per se are not going to bring about instructional improvements.
   b. The curriculum must be the focus of planning efforts, with administration and organization serving curriculum.
7. a. Comprehension by school staff of the discontinuities which exist between the world of the disadvantaged child and the middle-class world of the school.
8. Further research and evaluation of compensatory educational programs are needed. Suggested areas for study include:
   a. The development of an adequate theory of social deprivation.
   b. The effectiveness of early intervention programs.

C.8. c. The relationship between non-intellective factors and success at school.
- d. Language development.
- e. School organization.
- f. Selection and preparation of teachers who will work in depressed area schools.

Fried, Marc and Levin, Joan. Some Social Functions of the Urban Slum, in Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Morris (Eds.) Urban Planning and Social Policy, New York, Basic Books, Inc. 1968.

In the study of poverty and housing among low-status people, distinction should be made between different kinds of poor housing areas.

A.1. Different kinds of poor housing areas, e.g. stable, family-based working-class slums include a population many times the size of the skid row types in the city.

B.1. Most general function of the slum is to serve as a local labor market for low-status workers.

2. Its most important function is as a transitional community, a social environment halfway between the pre-industrial society of the rural worker and modern industrial society.

3. Its function as a transitional community provides an oppottunity for adaptation to the complex demands of a challenging environment.

4. The slum, a link to the past, serves as a social psychological security and as a temporary release from the pressures of the complex outside world.

5. The prevalent conception of the slum neglects its potential for providing a meaningful life in society with different values and social patterns.

6. Current housing programs undermine the social integrity of low-rent working class residential areas.

C.1. Selective demolition and continuous upgrading of dilapidated housing are more intelligent approaches to the problem.

2. Necessity of relatively low rentals, and the community resources of working-class residential areas in view of predictions of the rate of decrease in the number of the poor.

3. Housing, like income, is more frequently a result than a cause of other attributes of social class.

4. Important to find ways of expanding the economy to create a more favorable job market.

Galvan, Robert Rogers. Bilingualism as it Relates its Intelligence Test Scores and School Achievement Among Culturally Deprived Spanish-American Children. Dissertation, East Texas State University, 1967.

Discussion of the relationship of verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests to school achievement of bilingual culturally deprived children.

A.1. Spanish-American children were subjects of the study.

2. They scored better on the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children when administered in Spanish instead of English.

3. In several uses of achievement tests for determining school achievement not a satisfactory measure of bilingual children.

A.4. Results point out that verbal tests of intelligence are inadequate for testing bilingual children.
C.1. Non-verbal tests of intelligence might serve as a better indicator of pupil functioning and possible school success than higher verbal tests.

Ginzberg, Eli. Poverty and the Negro, The Disadvantaged Poor : Education and Employment. Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington D.C., 1966.

B.1. Twelve key determinants of Negro poverty are discussed. Some of these are: concentration of population in the South, rural concentration, the agricultural revolution, lack of education which puts migrating Negroes at a disadvantage, broken families, excessive birth rate and illegitimacy, etc.
C.1. Congress should develop a mechanism whereby individuals able and willing to work but unable to find jobs in the non-governmental sector could obtain employment on government supported projects.
2. Serious gaps in Social Security Legislation must be filled.
3. More should be spent per capita for schools attended by the poor.
4. a. Business should adopt a more enlightened attitude toward government and shift from its classic opposition to social welfare expenditure programs.
   b. It should work rigorously toward eliminating discriminatory practices.
   c. Welcome Negro businessmen into established organizations.
   d. Reality interests can help free the Negro from the ghettos.
5. Negro leadership must call attention to the many steps in education and employment which the Negro must take if he is to transmute his freedom into equality.
   a. Negro self-help organizations must be formed and backed.
   b. Negroes must be willing to release facts about conditions in the Negro community for purposes of research.

Ginzberg, Eli. Strategies for Self-Development, The Education and Training for Racial Minorities. Proceedings of conference, University of Wisconsin, Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, May 1967.

Discussion of various strategies which Negroes above poverty level can use for self-determination in spite of the existence of discrimination. That, in turn, depends on how these Negroes respond to the options which they confront.

B.1. Negroes face various options which include willingness to move out of the ghetto when they are able, and to seek interracial social contacts.
2. To enter their children in predominantly white schools and to encourage good school achievement.
3. To send their children to a strong interracial college.
4. To gamble on a career or prepare for an occupation in which Negroes are poorly represented, to accept employment in

situations where there may be prejudice.

B.5. To assess the outcome of their own experiences in personal rather than in racial terms.

6. Willingness to do all these things while acknowledging that there will be discrimination and prejudice.

Ginzberg, Eli. Pathology, Part Two in Manpower Agenda for America, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968.

Description and discussion of the ten faces of poverty and their application to the life of the Negro. The aspects discussed are being born into poverty,unemployment, low wages and intermittent employment, poor educational opportunities, poor health, old age, a large number of dependents, minority status location in a depressed area, and a broken family.

B.1. Inferior education and discrimination in the job market contribute to lack of hope experienced by the Negro child.

2. This in turn leads to dropping out of school because of a sense of futility of education.

3. The prospect of long term unemployment faces the dropout as job requirements become higher and unskilled jobs disappear.

4. Delinquency, and sometimes crime offer an outlet for the energies and activities of many disadvantaged youths.

5. Unable to make an orderly transition from childhood to adulthood due to lack of necessary competences and skills, they cannot assume adult roles.

C.1. Intervention following evidence of trouble promises to reduce deviancy in some areas.

2. Availability of jobs cannot solve all the problems.

3. Training for the specific task is necessary, but employability involves more than effective job preparation.

4. Considerations such as access to health services, the availability of day care centers, and improved public transportation, often prove to the the determining factors.

Glazer, Nona & Creedon, Carol F. (Eds.) Children and Poverty: Some Sociological and Psychological Perspectives. Chicago, Rand McNally, 1968.

Discussion of the relationship between social institutions and social and psychological characteristics of poor children.

D.1. Discussion of concepts which are useful in understanding the current interest in poverty and the theoretical models of man underlying current social science theory.

a. Merton's article on relative deprivation aids in understanding the relationship between the civil rights movement and the elimination of poverty.

2. Presentation of the life experiences of the poor in Harlem, Mississippi, and other locales.

3. Evaluation of contemporary perspectives on poverty and specification of the distinguishing characteristics of the poor.

4. S.M. Miller develops a typology of the lower-class which identifies four groups: the stable poor, the strained, the

copers, and the unstable.

D.5. Roy Lubone explores the assumption of social workers that poverty is due to individual character defects.

6. The impact of poverty on the personality systems of children, their ability to learn, and their capacity to engage in demanding tasks.

7. Examination of American institutional arrangements which lock children out of the social mainstream.

Goldberg, Miriam L. Factors Affecting Educational Attainment in Depressed Urban Areas. In A.H. Passow (Ed.) Education in Depressed Areas, New York, Columbia Teachers College Press, 1965.

A plea for the use of social sciences in program preparation for the urban school.

C. Urges:

1. Gather more data on
   a. the good learner in disadvantaged schools,
   b. the attitudes of middle-class and lower-class parents towards their children attending integrated schools,
   c. what administration supervision, personnel policies, and parent involvement create differences between schools,
   d. characteristics of successful teachers,
   e. effects of various school climates on pupil aspirations,
   f. is number or quality of transported Negro pupils a significant factor.
2. Suggestions:
   preschool programs by age 3,
   b. the use of first two years of school or prepatory to build self-confidence, increase verbal skills, etc.
   c. more male teachers or teacher assistants,
   d. separate boys from the girls to remove competition,
   e. interracial texts, urban oriented content,
   f. motor oriented teaching,
   g. determine most effective disciplinary methods,
   h. avoid teacher's resistance to necessary change.

Goldberg, Norman & Kanuk, Leslie. Upgrading Low-Wage Worker: An Economic Approach. Vol. II Upgrading Low-Wage Workers in the Plant Environment through High Intensity Training, Skill Advancement Inc., New York, August 31, 1967.

A report on the High Intensity Training technique, which was developed by Skill Advancement Inc. to improve the worker's skills in both the technical and human relations areas, to raise his levels of aspiration and motivation, and to alter his perceptions of self and management.

Training programs in plastics and electrical component companies, a restaurant, and hospitals, covering jobs which were designated as hard to fill by employers.

C.1. 1,654 low-wage employees were trained, 779 through direct in-plant training by Skill Advancement Inc. trained company trainers.

2. Skill Advancement Inc, conducted clinics for 246 supervisors to

improve their supervisory and human relations skills.

C.3. Sponsored leadership clinics for some 100 Negro and Puerto Rican low-wage trainees.
4. An informal follow-up of trainees who completed High Intensity Training programs prior to June 1967 shows significant increases in salary: the median weekly increase being $11.
5. Skill Advancement Inc. changed the negative attitudes of large numbers of first-line supervisors and their middle and top managements regarding the abilities of minority group workers.
6. Promotions and increases in pay of trainees since the initial upgrading process took place.
7. Increase in confidence, self-esteem and motivation of low-skill workers.
8. Traditional training time for semi-skilled occupations can be significantly reduced without any harm to its value.

Gordon, Edmund W. & Jablonsky, Adelaide. Compensatory Education in the Equalization of Educational Opportunity, The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 37, No. 3, Summer 1968.

Evaluation of several compensatory education programs like the Project Head Start, Upward Bound, school dropout programs, project 100,000 etc.

B.1. Programs do not reflect current thinking in learning theory and behavioral organization.
2. Concentration on either an enriched or a watered-down presentation of material to pupils whereas the quality of material is ignored in approaching improved content mastery.
3. Promising changes at the level of increased motivation and attitude change.
4. Several programs seek more active participation of parents and communities in their planning and conduct.
5. Resistance to community participation on the part of the education establishment.

C.1. More attention to the dynamics of group interaction in their relationship to the teaching-learning process.
2. Extension of programs to reach children earlier and serve them longer.
3. Measures to insure each child good health, adequate nutrition, and material resources necessary for learning.
4. Participation of parents and communities in determining school policies.
5. More language training.
6. Provisions to accommodate transiency.
7. Use of non-professionals and paraprofessionals on the staff.
8. Adequate funding.
9. Cultural, economic, and ethnic integration of schools.

Gould, Nathan. Cultural Perspectives on the Education of the Poor, in Milly Cowles, Perspectives in the Education of Disadvantaged Children, Cleveland, The World Publishing Company, 1967.

The influence of some features of the poverty sub-culture in contemporary America on the education of the children of the poor.

B.1. The family, which is the significant unit of socialization for the individual, exists under strong pressures of disorganization.

B.2. An orientation toward the present and distrust of institutional authority of the school are two sub-cultural influences related to the poor education received by the economically deprived.

3. Lack of familiarity of lower-class child with much of the middle-class cultural content of education.
4. Child is deprived of experience with school materials at home.
5. An outgrowth of this limited experience is stimulus deprivation.
6. Major school-related disabilities produced by these factors are:
   - a. inability to formulate questions;
   - b. inadequate development of reading abilities;
   - c. poor development of attention space;
   - d. deficiency of knowledge of physical characteristics of the world.
7. The experiences of the lower-class are opposite to the ethos of effort and achievement that characterizes the learning process in the school.
8. The pervasive class discrimination in the schools extends, apart from texts, content and testing, to teacher attitudes revealing underlying middle-class ethnocentricism.

Bibliography.

Graham, Jory. Handbook for Project Head Start, The Urban Child Center, University of Chicago. Distributed by Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, New York, 1966.

A handbook of teaching techniques.

B. Poor children lack: sense of self-worth, curiosity, laughter, self-confidence in new experiences. They are: impassive, silent.

C. Teachers must:

1. Establish communication by: showing enthusiasm, talking with each child occasionally.
2. Help children discriminate sounds by letting them listen to sounds and discriminating between sounds.
3. Help develop curiosity by: simple science experiments, classroom pets, time concepts, field trips, walks.
4. Development of sense of self in children by: pupil snapshots, mirrors, names used frequently, stressing cleanliness, each child with own possessions and storage place.
5. Develop sense of social belonging through sharing.
6. Encourage creativity with work in physical activity, rhythm, art, music, woodwork.

Guttentag, Marcia. The Relationship of Unemployment to Crime and Delinquency, Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 24, No. 1, January 1968.

This paper tries to integrate the two commonly held views on the relationship of juvenile crime and delinquency to the economy. One view is that delinquency results from limited opportunities, frustration, and the despair of poverty, and the other, that delinquency follows in the wake of industrialization, economic well-being and high employment.

B.1. Many studies of crime and delinquency are misleading because of the way crime and delinquency statistics are compounded and compared.
  a. The use of independent social and economic data, taken from census figures, combined with juvenile crime rate figures by census tracts, circumvents the obstacles in a comparison of juvenile crime rates over time or between different countries or geographic regions.
2. Statistical technique of cluster analysis makes it possible to differentiate among the effects of a number of conditions, e.g. poverty, substantial housing, poor education etc., and population instability, percent of racial change etc., which are often found together but can have distinct effects.
3. Although areas characterized by instability and anomie are also characterized by bad housing, low rentals, and overcrowding, delinquency is related to the anomie and not to the socio-economic condition of the area.
4. Conditions of employment and unemployment play a direct role in population shifts, with resulting instability and anomie reflected in increased delinquency.

C.1. The effects of employment conditions on the rate of social change and population mobility must be seen.
2. Social planning with economic planning can prevent the creation of anomie conditions resulting from industrial transformations.

Haber, Alan. The American Underclass, Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan - Wayne State University, Vol. 2, No. 3, May-June 1967.

American poverty can be analyzed in terms of the mechanism through which income, resources, and opportunities are allocated in our society involving the functioning of both the economy and the political system. This results in a two-fold class division in America: the affluent and the underclass.

B.1. The difference between the two classes is that of income, status, and of occupational location delimiting the opportunity structure of an individual's position with respect to the mobility ladder.
2. A number of institutional arrangements and discriminatory forces tend to make impenetrable the mobility barrier between the underclass and the affluent.
3. These 'sustaining conditions' of poverty are of three types:
  a. public attitudes toward the poor,
  b. effects of past deprivation,
  c. intra-generational barriers to mobility, e.g. discrimination, exploitation, deficient community and professional services, and structured dependency.
4. Actions creating economic insecurity and maintaining an underclass serve the interests of different sustaining groups among the affluent: local community groups, major economic institutions, and national political groups.
5. Various other factors acting as principal barriers to organization and political unity among the poor are: minority status, class consciousness, diffusion of demands, political psychology, ...

intimidation, lack of organizational experience and resources, and limited commitment of allies and cooperation.

D.6. To dismantle the barriers between the underclass and the affluent requires more than the general growth of the affluent economy.

7. He is against the political forces and ideas that the poor and their allies among the affluent must organize to significantly change the political economy of poverty.

8. Lacking such organization, the initiative in the current war on poverty is likely to lie, on the community level, with groups having major interest in existing institutional relations, and on the national level, with people whose political responsibility is to powerful economic and professional groups.

9. However, there are some changes, e.g. the movements (civil rights, regional organizations, Black Power) of the poor; reform groups like labor unions, intellectual reformers, peace groups etc., among the affluent; and the introduction of new factors by anti-poverty programs.

10. Two alternative developments are envisaged in the war on poverty:

   a. The present movements of the poor may develop sufficient political power and strong enough coalitions with other reform groups to bring about these fundamental changes in the valuing of human resources and the principles of income distribution.

   b. Or the poverty-generated barriers to political organization, combined with governmental efforts to cooperate with radical movements, may produce a guided mobility and subsidized dependency maintaining intact the relations between the affluent and the underclass.

Halasa, Ofelia. A Developmental Study of the Attainment of Number Conservation Among Economically and Culturally Disadvantaged Children. Dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1967.

A three-fold study to examine the developmental attainment of number conservation among economically and culturally disadvantaged children; to determine whether the attainment of number conservation in this population is affected by chronological age, learning level, concept level, and task difficulty level; to evaluate Piaget's methodology behavior study of number conservation.

A.1. The findings support, in general, Piaget's over-all formulations regarding number conservation.

2. Age and learning level were found to be statistically significant variables.

3. In the developmental sequence of stages, Piaget's formulations appear to hold only with high learning level subjects.

4. The performance of this group was approximately comparable to Piaget's middle-class subjects.

C.1. Piaget's formulations regarding the occurrence of sharp non-overlapping change at each stage need to be modified in terms of their applicability to this population.

2. Relevance of these findings to previous findings and theoretical formulations of Piaget and other investigators.

3. Amplications of these findings for education and psychology.

Havighurst, R.J. Urban development and the educational system. In A.H. Passow (Ed.) Education in Depressed Areas. New York, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1963.

A proposal to end class segregation and promote ability segregation.

C. He suggests a citizens committee to support the following:

1. Regional high schools open to top 1/3 inability.
2. High school age group, no more than 60% white.
3. Work-study centers for academically inept (shades of Rickover) junior high students.
4. Special programs for kindergarten primary pupils from 'culturally inadequate' homes.
5. Vocational high schools for non-academic type.
6. Regional junior colleges.
7. Adult education.

Hellmuth, Jerome, editor. Disadvantaged Child, Vol. I, Special Child Publications, Seattle Seguin School, Inc., 1967.

A collection of articles dealing with varied aspects of the problems of the disadvantaged child and programs to meet these problems.

D.1. Contributors are psychiatrists, professors of psychology and special education.

2. Subjects dealt with are:
   - a. Child-rearing patterns.
   - b. Familial mental retardation.
   - c. Special education and cultural deprivation.
   - d. Schools and the disadvantaged.
   - e. Northern urban education.
   - f. Pedagogical and psycho-social adjustment problems.
   - g. Innovations in assessing a child's potential.
   - h. Teacher education.
   - i. Pre-school education.
   - j. The psychiatric and sociological aspects of reading retardation.
   - k. Language development
3. Extensive bibliography of readings on the disadvantaged child.

Conclusion: The approach to disadvantaged children not yet stereotyped and no strong orthodoxy in the field.

Henderson, Mark D. A Study of the Effects of Family Structure and Poverty on Negro Adolescents from the Ghetto. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1967.

Comparison of the influence of family structure and of poverty on the social performance of lower-class Negro youngsters.

A.1. No significant differences found between the poverty and non-poverty groups in terms of levels of aspirations; perceptions of life chances; law-violating behavior; and educational achievement.

2. Neither poverty nor family structure was an adequate predictor of inadequate social performance of the selected sample.
3. The Black ghetto in which these youngsters reside is of crucial importance.

A.4. The social and psychological forces of the ghetto impinge uniformly upon its members and provide them with a common set of experiences.

5 Analysis of the structural variables of the ghetto and its relation to the wider society reveals a pattern of exclusion of its members from the wider society.

6. The ghetto and its members are physically, racially, socially, and mentally isolated from the wider order.

7. These isolative forces produce a qualitatively different life-pattern within the ghetto which in turn renders its members incapable of performing adequately in terms of the wider society.

C.1. Problems more broadly based than either poverty and family structure.

2. Meaningful programs must take account of the differential influence of the ghetto upon the lives of its members.

Hendrix, Leland Jacob. Auditory Discrimination Differences Between Culturally Deprived and Non-Deprived Pre-school Children. Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967.

A study to find out differences in auditory discrimination ability of culturally deprived and non-deprived pre-school children. The effects of an operant conditoning technique for auditory discrimination training are also assessed.

A.1. Sample of culturally deprived children consisted of 40 pre-school children in a Head Start program.

2. 40 children from a middle-class nursery school formed the culturally non-deprived sample.

3. Equal division by sex.

4. Both groups of comparable ages.

5. All children showed hearing in the normal range based on an individual pure-tone audiometric screening test.

6. Results indicated that culturally non-deprived children receive markedly higher auditory discrimination scores.

B.1. Operant conditioning as a training technique shows real promise as a compensatory educational approach in this area.

Henry, White People's Time, Colored People's Time. Trans-action, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1965.

Report of observational study of St. Louis housing development.

A.1. Tenants tended toward unrealistic random behavior attitude towards space, time, objects and persons lacked organization, predictability and sense.

2. Fantasy is their only achievement.

3. In school 'showing off' more important than achievement.

4. Peer group pressure is very strong. Approval of white students or members of opposite sex more important than approval of teacher.

5. Time sense affects sense of future and hope, lacking in poor.

C.

1. Poor need pre-school training in basic perceptions of time and organization.

2. Teachers trained to deal with hungry and emotionally upset

C.2. a. Teachers should eat breakfast with children to make friends before enemies.
  3. More personalized care especially with under-achievers.
     a. Smaller classes.
     b. More teachers.

Herman, Melvin et al. Work, Youth, and Unemployment. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968.
Focusses on the need for the training and employment of large numbers of disadvantaged youths, and the factors underlying their unemployment, such as socialization, education, family structure, health, economy, income, the prevailing value system and international affairs.

C.1. Need for restructuring the social institutions and a commitment to human values to be achieved through meaningful work.
  2. Expanded public service activities could provide career lives for both professionals and non-professionals.
  3. Reduction in the size of the labor force through acceptable alternatives to work and widened efforts at birth control.
  4. Options such as delayed entry into the labor force and voluntary withdrawal from it, should be given to workers.
  5. Creation of options for the use of free time: education, voluntary public service, and community improvement programs.
  6. Try to attain the co-operation of private sector.
  7. Increase in commitment to health services and urban planning.
  8. Apart from increasing expenditures on existing activities, we must find solutions for both immediate and long-term needs.

Hersey, John. Education, An Antidote to Poverty. Reprint from AAUW, Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, New York, 1965.

Assessment of the role that education may or may not play in the war on poverty.

B.1. Education alone cannot wipe out the numerous causes of poverty.
  2. School can give hope and can teach skills that can earn money.
C.1. Enlistment of the poor in the war against their own condition.
  2. Politicians, schools, redevelopment and renewal agencies, social services, health and welfare offices, churches, business leadership, labor unions, civil rights groups, and city, state, and federal agencies must work together in plan of action involving all levels of living but focussed on the schools.
  3. Radical new educational approaches are needed.
  4. Reorganization of schools at every point of their functioning.
  5. Revolution in attitudes is essential.

References.

Hiestand, Dale L. White Collar Employment Opportunities for Minorities in New York City, Office of Research and Reports, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Research Report 1967-23, Washington D.C.
A comprehensive study of white-collar employment patterns for minorities in New York City in an effort to promote equality of opportunity.

A.1. In general, Negroes and Puerto Ricans have gained substantially in the clerical and technical occupations.
  2. Minority women have fared better than minority men in relation to the majority.
  3. As a group, however, under representation of women in all the fields above the clerical level in private employment.

C.1. Promotion of equal employment opportunities in managerial and sales positions must cut across industry lines.
  2. Stress on initial hiring in dealing with firms which employ few minority group members in white-collar jobs.
  3. Apart from stress in initial hiring, skills and experiences necessary to move into such occupations should be made accessible.
  4. More formal education, including college and graduate study, must be made available.
  5. The extent of employment opportunity already open to them in the white-collar sector must be forcefully brought to the attention of youngsters in minority groups.

Hill, H. Planning the End of the American Ghetto: A Program of Economic Development for Equal Rights. Human Relations and Poverty Abstracts.

A suggested plan to end ghettos.

C. Ghettos are a concentration of people and problems, economic underdevelopment, cultural deprivation, high infant mortality, inferior education, and unemployment. To eliminate the ghetto it is necessary to:
  a. Replace sub-standard housing--part of cost to come from rentals and made up in increased employment.
  b. Improve health facilities.
  c. Improve educational facilities--increase expenditures on nursery schools.
  d. Public transportation.

Financing: It is necessary to establish priorities--suggests first priorities given to eliminate ghetto, Federal Government should return $50 billion in taxing, power so communities could raise and disburse the money.

Hill, Norman." Which jobs for the Blacks? New Generation, Vol. 50, No. 1, Winter 1968.

A survey of sub-employment in ten large cities.

A.1. The sub-employment rates averaged almost 35% while the traditional unemployment rate was about 10% in urban slum areas.
  2. Very low proportion of negroes employed in white collar jobs, with airlines, insurance, and banking being particular problem industries.
  3. In New York, of the 55,000 white-collar jobs held by Negroes, two thirds were in clerical rather than administrative, professional, or managerial categories.

B.1. Full, fair, and useful employment is possible through the development of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in construction, in the improvement of public facilities and services, and in schools, health centers, mass transit systems, and the rebuilding of cities.

B.2. The hiring of teachers' aides can be a job source for the ghetto unemployed.

C.1. A two-pronged action program needed to deal with both discrimination and the inadequacy of the recent growth of the economy.

2. Federal fair employment codes should broaden the scope of the current act by reducing from 25 to 8 the number of employees and union members required before firms and unions can come under the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Himer, J.S. Some work related to cultural deprivations of lower class Negro youths, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1964.

Work-related cultural deprivations lower chances for young Negroes getting and keeping a job.

There are two forms of cultural deprivations:

1. Judgemental--appearances that may prevent Negroes from getting a job but would not keep him from adequate performance of job.
2. Realistic--detrimental effect on ability to perform job partly due to lack of work oriented role models, lack of models who have been rewarded with money or status for hard work, no chance for Negro youth as to learn familiarity with role, jargon, clothing,attitudes and daily routine of work, is never able to learn the solidarity of union and union's convictions, that the worker if not the work is important

Comment: Some implication as to subject matter that might be taught to slum kids. Disadvantaged youths should be encouraged.

Himes, J.S. The functions of racial conflict. Social Forces, Vol. 45, No. 1, 1966.

A theoretical discussion.

B.1. Social conflict is both natural and functional in human society. It is realistic when rationally determined means one used to achieve culturally approved ends. The struggle of Negroes in legal redress, political pressure, and mass action is realistic.

2. The functions of conflict in terms of maintaining and enhancing of the social system of the larger society are:
   - a. Alters the social structure, redistributes social power.
   - b. Extends social communications, affective aspects that must otherwise be suppressed are communicated, e.g. the 'happy Negro' really isn't.
   - c. Enhances social solidarity. Extends basic social values to all members.
   - d. Facilitates personal identity.

Hodge, Robert W. and Donald J. Treiman. Occupational mobility and attitudes toward Negroes, American Sociological Review, Vol. 31 No. 1.

Discussion of the relationship between occupational mobility and prejudice.

A.1. Examination of two models of the relationship between

occupational mobility and attitudes toward Negroes.
   a. An additive model which implies that individuals form their attitudes by striking an average between the view appropriate to their class of origin and those appropriate to their class of destination.
   b. An interaction model according to which occupational mobility creates abnormal strain which is manifested in greater hostility toward Negroes than would be expected from additive effects alone.

A.2. To assess the two models, materials from Elmira Study and the West Virginia study are reviewed.
   3. Analysis of the new data from a representative national sample of the adult white population.
   4. Strong support is found for the additive model, and little for the interaction model.

Ingerman, S. & Stranss, G. Preparing Underprivileged Negro youths for jobs, *Poverty and Human Relations Abstracts*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1967.

Suggesting new programs in vocational education.

Past programs of vocational education have been ineffective because of inferior training; requiring youth to make major insensible decision too early; defeatist attitude of teachers and students.

C.1. More emphasis on general rather than specific training.
   2. Eliminate sharp line between academic and vocational education.
   3. More emphasis on general education.
   4. Junior college vocational training for those of average ability who can complete academic high school.
   5. For slow-to-learn students emphasis on learning to read and write etc.
   6. More profitable in long run to spend more money in training 'hard-to-train'.
   7. Training to value meaningful work with real rewards, to develop motivation to work.

Jacobs, Paul. *Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America from the Bottom*, New York, Random House, 1967.

The book presents a case study of Los Angeles and the rioting in Watts to illustrate the causes and conditions of rioting. The relationships of the poor minorities and their treatment by the institutions serving them are discussed.

B.1. Community anger and official indifference that builds potentially violent situations are interrelated.
   2. Various factors contribute to the explosive situation.
      a. Ghetto stores that demand exorbitant prices.
      b. Poor schools.
      c. Run-down homes.
      d. Government agencies treating the minority poor either punitively or in ways reinforcing their feelings of dependency.
      e. American middle-class persistence in viewing the Negro with concealed contempt and open hate.
   3. Looting can be an act of politics as well as a desire for goods.

B.3. a. It is a way in which the black poor can express hate of the white world and its institutions.
b. Burning and sniping return self-worth to a people conditioned to view themselves as worthless.
C.1. a. As long as Government reinforces the conditions which create and maintain ghettos, pressure within the ghettos must increase.
b. As frustrations and resentments build, the people trapped will continue to lash out and revolt.
2. No solutions will be effective unless the country as a whole develops the will to change.

Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, Youth Training Project, Final Report, Office of Manpower Policy, Evaluation and Research, St. Louis, Missouri, July 1966.

This youth training project aimed at making disadvantaged young people employable. It was carried out from September 1963 to July 31, 1966.

C.1. Of the participants, 55% were female and 90% were Negro.
2. Most had not completed a high school education.
3. Some participants were handicapped--mentally, physically, or emotionally.
4. More than 1,000 participants were served in the 18-month period of operation.
5. The services of the project included evaluation, pre-vocational counseling, work conditioning, skill training, on-the-job training, and job placement.
6. The trainees who received a full measure of work conditioning and pre-vocational training did better after placement than those who only had evaluation.
7. The trainee's motivations and attitudes toward employment determined the effectiveness of training.
8. Positive attitudes were strengthened by supportive counseling and service throughout training and the early days of employment.
9. Some shortcomings of the project were its failure to provide remedial education or to lay down concrete plans for individual follow-up.
10. Need for federal, state, and local legislation for funding and structure of such projects.

John Hopkins University. Demonstration Work project in Biomedical Research for High School Students from Lower Soci-economic Groups in Baltimore, Maryland, June 4, 1964 to November 4, 1967. Final Report.

Description and discussion of a summer work project to provide jobs to disadvantaged high school students.

A.1. 27 high school students employed in summer work in research laboratories of the John Hopkins Medical Institutions.
a. Immediate objective was to provide jobs.
b. Long-term objective was to absorb students into health careers.
2. Students spent the summer in a useful way and earned wages while undergoing training.
3. Some were to be hired as lab technicians after high school.
4. Six students continued to work at the John Hopkins Medical Institutions.

Contact with the participants is essential.

B.1. Further improvements in the program to be made when additional funds available for three years.

C.1. Recruitment into health careers should begin at an early age.

2. Students should be taught the role of health professionals in the community in the primary grades.
3. Upper elementary and junior high school students should be brought into contact with health professions by classroom discussion.
4. When they reach high school, they will be ready for work in the laboratory, clinic or hospital.

John, Vera P. The Intellectual Development of Slum Children: Some Preliminary findings. Reading in Educating the Disadvantaged, Joe A. Apple, Editor, Selected Academic Readings, Inc., New York.

A study of lower-lower, upper-lower and middle-class children showed that small differences in socio-economic background influence the development of specific language skills.

A.1. Middle- and lower-class children have equal ability to enumerate, but lower-class children have inferior skills in concept integration probably due to lack of adults who have and would listen to the lower-class child and correct him and respond to what he says.

2. A lower-class child may have equal intelligence, but he is unlikely to have the integrative and summarizing ability which would enable him to choose the most appropriate single response to a complex question on an intelligence test.
3. Wide variation of scores with first-grade children. By the fifth grade, 8 children's responses become quite uniform within a given class--especially within the middle-class.
4. In statistical work, uniform scores become apparent, but varying scores cancel each other out.
5. It could not be proved, contrary to expectations, that middle-class children excel in the ability to respond to a spoken noun with another noun, without the aid of verbally responsive youths.
6. Middle-class children are able to categorize in a manner which shows a higher degree of language skills.
7. Although the sample group was small in this test, social class difference seemed clear at the fifth grade level.

C.1. Need for further research into the relationship of precise life experiences to the development of language.

2. The goal should be new teaching techniques to help children acquire these rudimentary skills and thus to improve their educational performance.

Johnson, D.W. Racial attitudes of Negro freedom school participants and Negro and white civil rights participants, Social Forces, Vol. 45, No. 2, 1966.

A report of two questionnaire studies.

A.1. Of 18 Negro participants in a freedom school teaching Negro history, average age 12.

A.2. Of 6 Negro, mean age 16, and 10 white, mean age 16, participants in a civil rights group.
   3. Negroes had positive attitudes toward Negroes. Freedom school participants had more positive attitudes toward Negroes than did civil rights workers.
C. Raise self-esteem of Negro students by teaching Negro history and involving them in (all Negroes) some action program.

Johnson, Elmer Hubert. Social Institutions and Crime Causation, Crime, Correction and Society, Homewood, Illinois, Dorsey Press, 1968.

The relationship of the family, school, economic system, church, and the mass media to crime causation.

B.1. Lack of affection, broken homes, and birth order affect a child's propensity to commit destructive acts.
   2. Though failures of parents are the major cause of delinquency, their influence is indirect.
   3. Delinquency and school maladjustment are symptoms of emotional difficulties.
   4. Since the school occupies a key position in identifying problem children, specific techniques should be used for detecting deviant behavior. Objective observation of classroom behavior, informal counseling, and sociometric analysis to locate school isolates among the pupils.
   5. Economic factors operate in conjunction with other factors to affect social deviation.
   6. Investigation of the relationship between economic factors and crime requires control of other variables, including the quality of the data.
   7. Responses of churches to crime and delinquency fall into three classifications:
      a. New enthusiasm for the use of traditional methods.
      b. Enlistment of scientific knowledge.
      c. Adjustment of programs to contemporary needs.
   8. Role of mass-media in leading to criminal behavior is contributory rather than direct.
   9. The effects of mass-media vary with the qualities of the individual and his social situation.

Johnston, William Elbert Jr. & Scales, Eldridge E. Counseling the Disadvantaged Student, Selected Academic Readings, New York, 1968.

Discussion of the various solutions to the problems with specific reference to counseling arising from the special psychology and needs of the disadvantaged youth, regardless of race.

B.1. If counseling efforts are to be effective, rapport must be established between the counselee and the counselor.
   2. The counselor must understand the psychological, social, economic, and cultural forces that affect the behavior of disadvantaged youth.
   3. The counselor must examine his own attitudes.
   4. Various dimensions to the counselor's role.
      a. He must serve not only the students, but the teacher with

whom he works, the parents of his students, and the community as a whole.

B.5. Preparation of counselors for working with the disadvantaged is a continuing process.

6. Although much can be supplied in advance of counseling in the school, but the deepening of many insights, methods, techniques, and understanding often occur after training.

Kahn, Herman. A content and summary for a study of some basic issues of poverty, & Note on orientation towards poverty, The Future of American Poverty: Some Basic Issues in Evaluating Alternative Anti-Poverty Measures. Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y., Hudson Institute, 1968.

Study of the future of poverty and evaluation of anti-poverty measures.

B.1. Four kinds of poor:
  a. Those who manage to live up to middle-class values.
  b. Those who try but fail to succeed within the system.
  c. Those who pay lip service to these values but find them irrelevant and alien.
  d. Those who are consciously alienated from the established value system.
2. Discussion of ten characteristics which seem likely to mark American society and its anti-poverty programs in the near future.

C.1. In establishing policy, we should think less in terms of an historical debt which America has incurred to the poor and more in terms of their present conditon.
2. The major objective of an anti-poverty program should be to reduce the alienation associated with feelings of ineffectiveness, passivity, and apathy.
3. Distribution of public funds to people without meaningful activity is not an acceptable solution to psychological and social problems.
4. Insufficient welfare can also produce alienation.
5. The human costs and dollar costs of programs must be balanced.

Kandell, Alice Susan. Harlem Children's Stories: A study of expectations of Negro and Puerto Rican Boys in two reading-level groups. Dissertation, Harvard University 1967.

A comparative study of the expectations of lower socio-economic status Negro and Puerto-Rican Harlem boys regarding school and their general life experiences.

A.1. Subjects were 30 Puerto Rican and 30 Negro boys from three service schools; 15 boys in each group scored in the high and 15 in the low range on the Metropolitan Reading Test.
2. Content analysis om their stories and responses revealed more negative expectations and themes for Negro boys than for Puerto Ricans in the areas of school, general environment and mother.
  a. Reading level being equal, Negro boys described failure in school, punishment from mother and teacher, tension in the family and danger in the environment.
  b. Overtones of apathy and resignation accompanied mostly by

themes of fear of punishment.

A.2. c. Feelings of alienation and personal damage.

d. High-achieving Negro boys had more positive expectations in terms of mastery when free of the school milieu.

3. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans had expectations of mastery, of rewards and encouragement from the teacher and parents, and of acceptance and support from the environment.

4. As opposed to Negroes, Puerto Ricans seemed to view themselves as able to function and influence their environment.

5. No differences between the four groups in relation to fathers and peers.

Kaplan, Jerome David. Teaching number conservation to Disadvantaged Children, Columbia University, 1967.

This article studies the relationship between social class and mathematics achievement.

A.1. Number conservation--the recognition that the number of a set is preserved after transformation--is an important prerequisite for school mathematics.

2. Piaget's studies showed that children advance through three stages in their development of number conservation.

3. Replications of these studies showed difference in the responses of middle-class and lower-class children of the same age.

a. Middle-class children reach complete conservation at seven years.

b. Few lower-class children reach conservation at seven years.

4. Disadvantaged children as subjects of the study.

5. Conclusion reached by the findings and supported by other studies is that there is a clear link between disadvantaged environments and mathematics achievement.

6. Previous such experiments with middle-class subjects showed mixed results using transfer and duration of learning as basic criteria.

B.1. It was proposed that the effects of response learnings may be almost entirely due to the act of producing the response, rather than to learning it, in either a recall or recognition sense.

Katz, Irwin. Academic Motivation and Equal Educational Opportunity. Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1968.

Testing the hypothesis that in predominantly Negro schools, where low attainment levels prevail, lack of self-appraisal or self-approval renders most students incapable of achievement striving.

B.1. The study focusses on the Coleman Report finding that attributes of other students affect the achievement of individual students (with specific reference to the sensitivity of Negro pupils to classroom environment).

2. In racially isolated schools, unrealistic self- evaluation and strong anxiety are common features of Negro children's (especially boys') behavior.

B.3. Low academic achievement and self-criticism related to children's perceptions of low rewards and high punitiveness.
4. High expectations of parents are a source of anxiety to children.
5. Parental aspirations discrepant with the amount of effort these parents devote to the educational needs of their children.
6. With the adoption of high standards without the behavioral mechanisms necessary for attainment, the relationship between verbal expressions of the standards and actual performance will be inverse.
7. Coleman found that the most important attitude relevant to academic motivation among Negro students was a sense of control of rewards.
8. This sense of control most strongly affected by the proportion of white students in school
9. With the increase in the proportion of white students, the Negro child's sense of internality grew stronger and this affected his achievement striving.

Katz, Irwin; Henchy, Thomas & Allen, Harvey. Effects of Race of Tester, Approval-Disapproval, and Need on Negro Children's Learning, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1968.

In order to understand the effects of positive and negative social reinforcement on verbal learning in Negro pupils, it is necessary to take into account the need state of the individual child and the racial identity of the adult reinforcer.

A.1. In this experiment, 148 Negro boys, age seven to ten, from low-income neighborhoods in a large northern city were administered individually a social desirability questionnaire, and then a verbal learning task by white and Negro examiners.
2. Each subject received either approval or disapproval on the learning task.
3. a. Subjects performed better on a verbal learning task with Negro examiners than with white examiners, and
b. When given approval than disapproval.

Keller, Suzanne. The American Lower Class Family, The New York State Division For Youth, Albany, N.Y. 1966.

A survey and summary of available sociological knowledge about lower-class family life in the United States, analysis of this knowledge, and suggests some implications for pressing social problems such as juvenile delinquency, mental illness, and school dropouts.

B.1. Every family has four functions: reproduction, maintenance, socialization, and status placement.
2. Aside from reproduction, neither maintenance, socialization, nor status placement are effectively carried out by the lower-class family.
3. The family, then, is not so much a reality as an unattainable ideal in the lower classes.
4. Regarding major social problems, there is no consensus on the role of the family in lower-class delinquency.

B.5. Many of the so-called correlations between crime and family life may be results of inadequately controlling of socio-economic factors whithin lower-class environments.

6. There is a similar lack of knowledge and agreement with regard to lower-class family in mental illness.

7. However, there is a more definite relationship between school failure and social class.
   a. The typical lower-class family does not foster interest in intellectual activities or in ideas for their own sake.
   b. Fathers often fear that schools will turn their sons into sissies.

8. Schools may thus become an arena for sex-role conflict; it is something encouraged by mothers, teachers, and society, but not by fathers and other men.

Kennedy, Robert F. et al. Ghetto Education, The Center Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 7, November 1968.

Discussion on integrated education at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in New York by six veterans of the racial crisis in schools--Robert F. Kennedy, Kenneth B. Clark, Oscar Lewis, Neil V. Sullivan, Robert M. Hutchins, and Harry S. Ashmore.

B.1. Shift in focus of controversy over integrating schools from the rural South to the urban North. Its implications range beyond the inner city. In spite of the 1954 Supreme Court decision to end enforced racial separation problems persist.

C. The participants proposed various measures to achieve integration. Some of the proposals discussed are two-way busing, compensatory education, educational parks, teaching of Negro history, change in teaching style and racist attitudes of teachers etc. Discussion of the various aspects of the problem.

Killingsworth, C.C. Negroes in a changing labor market, In A.M. Ross (Ed.) Jobs and Color, Harcourt, Brace and World.

B. The competitive disadvantage of Negroes is great and increasing, it is greatest in the North, among the young, and is average and beyond levels of education. These factors are highly interrelated. Some of the disadvantage due to inferior education of Southern Negroes. The population trends result in increasing concentrations of Negroes where relative disadvantage is greatest.

C.1. Recommendations, long range.
   a. Birth control.
   b. Dispersal of ghettos (less competition for unskilled jobs).
   c. Improving environment of central cities.
   d. Improving schools.

2. Recommendations, short run.
   a. Job creation.
   b. Job training.
   c. Remedial education.
   d. Counseling.
   e. Hire the poor to train the poor.

Kirkpatrick, James J. et al. Differential selection among applicants from different socio-economic or ethnic backgrounds. Final Report to the Ford Foundation, Research Center for Industrial Behavior, New York University, May 1967.

A study to test the validity of a selection test for different ethnic groups and ways to improve their accuracy and to study their employment situations with respect to fairness.

A.1. The results indicate differential patterns of validity for different ethnic groups. For example:
  a. Test scores would predict job performance for one ethnic group and not for others.
  b. Two or three groups would perform at the same level in a job, yet one may show poorer test scores.
  c. One group may be superior in job performance but not in test performance.
2. Study of a Basic Essential Skills Training Program indicated that remedial training in math and reading increased numerical and reading ability test scores for all ethnic groups, whites included, but did not reduce differences between ethnic groups.
3. Another study showed that while there is no single good measure of cultural deprivation, factor analysis techniques can help separate cultural deprivation from other factors, particularly socio-economic status.
4. Another study found that the use of two non-verbal predictor tests with a limited number of cases did not increase validity, nor were these tests any more 'culture free' than the tests used in this study.

B.1. The moderated prediction technique (Saunders, 1956) may be helpful in improving predictions.
2. Validation and standardization of tests separately for the different ethnic groups is an effective alternative.

Kohrs, E.V. The Disadvantaged and Lower Class Adolescent, Understanding Adolescence, James F. Adams, Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1968.

Report on studies of lower-class adolescents and their education, vocational development, socialization, and delinquency and anti-social behavior.

B.1. Molded by poverty, he faces adulthood with limited alternatives, insecurity, and a feeling of powerlessness.
2. He is characterized by poor educational achievement, a lack of positive vocational development, a feeling of alienation, and the belief that those in authority are crooked.
3. Research shows that he places value on educational achievement, does not lack vocational aspirations or reject stable marriages, or exhibit more norm-violating behavior.

C.1. Research should point to new applications in training and rehabilitation.
2. Clearly defined populations should be drawn from the various sub-cultures of poverty, a variety of data-gathering techniques should be used.
3. Statistical tests should determine the effect of such factors as dropping out of school, sex, and race.

C.4. Suggested areas of research are the role of a masculinity drive, the effect of an alienated dependence syndrome, and the differences in sensory attentiveness in the educational setting.

5. Programs should emphasize the use of peer groups to change attitudes; physical and concrete approaches to learning; and visible goals which lead to a better life.

Kugel, Robert B., M.D. Familial Mental Retardation--Fact or Fancy? In Jerome Hellmuth (Ed.) Disadvantaged Child, Vol. I, Special Child Publications, Seattle Seguin School, Inc., Seattle, Wash. 1967.

Analysis of the effects of the poor environment on the intellectual functioning of children and of the relationship of familial mental retardation to biological and psycho-social disorders. Sixteen lower-class families with mentally retarded children were selected.

A.1. These families had many more medical ills than a comparable group of middle-class families.

2. Pre-natal and post-natal disorders and peri-natal complications were more numerous than in the general population.

3. High proportion of children were encephalopathic.

4. It is likely that central nervous system aberrations contributed to sub-normal functioning in at least half of the cases.

5. Social ills like poor housing, diets and environment were numerous in the families of these children.

6. The data suggest that the combination of biological and psycho-social disorders is very pernicious to
   a. familial mental retardation,
   b. this retardation, though familial, is not necessarily hereditary.

C.1. If the findings of this study are corroborated by subsequent studies, crucial help can be given to this group.

2. Efforts to rehabilitate low socio-economic class children at three to five years of age may modify the harmful effects of poor environment on intellectual functioning.

Kuvlesky, William P & Lever, Michael. Occupational Goals, Expectations, and Anticipatory Goal Deflection Experienced by Negro Girls Residing in Low-Income Rural and Urban Places. Presented at the Southwestern Sociological Society Meetings, Dallas, March 1967.

Comparison of goals, expectations and anticipatory deflection of rural and urban Negro girls from low-income families. 99 rural and 170 urban girls were selected in Texas for the study during April-May 1966.

A.1. Data analysis indicates no significant differences between the two groupings in goals, expectations, or anticipatory deflection.

2. Similar goal and expectation profiles of both groupings.
   a. Majority aspired to white-collar jobs.
   b. Most expected to attain professional positions of lower order prestige.
   c. About one-fourth in each group anticipated attaining sales

and clerical jobs.

A.2. d. Few aspired to become housewives, operatives, or unskilled workers.

3. Goal and expectations differed meaningfully in only two ways:
   a. More girls in both groups desired high prestige white-collar jobs than anticipated attaining them.
   b. While none of the girls desired to be housewives, a minority from both groups anticipated this role.
4. Several meaningful rural-urban differences.
   a. Fewer rural girls held high goal and expectation levels.
   b. The difference between the two groupings was greater in reference to expectations than to goals.
   c. Rural girls had a slightly higher rate of anticipatory deflection and a higher rate of negative deflection.

C.1. Availability of realistic information about job opportunities necessary.

Kuvlesky, William P. & Ohlendorf, George W. A Rural-Urban Comparison of the Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys. Rural Sociology, Vol. 33, No. 2, June 1968.

Study of occupational status aspirations, expectations, and anticipatory deflection from goals of Negro youths by analyzing data obtained from high school sophomores residing in Texas.

A.1. Urban boys had higher goal and expectation levels than rural boys.
2. Both maintain high-level goals and aspiration.
3. They experience similar rates of anticipatory deflection from occupational goals.

Kuvlesky, William P. & Upham, W. Kennedy. Social Ambitions of Teen-Age Boys living in an Economically Depressed Area of the South: A Racial Comparison. Presented at the Southern Sociological Society Meetings, Atlanta, Georgia, March 30, 1967.

Examination of Merton's proposition that inculcation of high success goals is a characteristic cutting across sub-cultural differentiation in our society. Selection of sample from among Negro and white male high school sophomores in three rural counties in Texas in 1966. Proposition tested on four goals--income, occupation, education and residence. High proportion of non-whites in these counties following traditional Southern race relations patterns.

A.1. Similarity of Negro and white boys in terms of high goal levels for income, occupation, education, and residence.
2. General differences in each type of goal.
   a. Negroes had slightly lower income and occupational goal levels.
   b. Negroes had higher educational goal levels than whites.
   c. Most of the Negroes wanted to live in a large city whereas most of the white youths preferred to live near a city or in a large city.

B.1. Details on these counties, comparison of white and Negro background attributes, and instrument and measurement categories in appendix.
2. Brief review of relevant research.

Kvaraceus, William C. Poverty, Education and Race Relations, in William C. Kvaraceus, John S. Gibson & Thomas J. Curtin (Eds.) Poverty, Education and Race Relations: Studies and Proposals, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

A detailed discussion of the ways and means to provide the schools with a basis for approaching and helping solve the two problems of poverty and under-education. The author makes sixteen observations in this context.

C.1. Youths should be helped to stay in school on the value systems they are buying, not the one they are in.
2. Need to re-think and re-tool the whole educational program.
3. Downward extension of school programming to include two to four year olds.
4. Program planning must ensure that the Negro is not backed out of school into a dead end or low level job.
5. Differing educational and psychological needs and interests of Negro boys and girls should be taken account of in programming.
6. Better understanding of the reality of Negro life by teachers.
7. Awareness of subliminal curriculum in the learning experience.
8. The degree of academic retardation increases with school attendance in many inner-city schools with a high percentage of Negro youths.
9. Loss of faith in each other by pupils and community in inner city schools.
10. Professionals alone cannot solve the Negro's educational problems.
11. Counseling seldom accommodates the realities of Negro's past, present or future.
12. Schools are social systems with vast networks of interpersonal relationships.
13. Formation of parents and students into corporate bodies to deal more effectively with the corporate system of the school.
14. School must work with other community agencies to solve the problems of race relations.
15. Many problems of segregation and racism result from sexual myths, class status deprivations, and political effectiveness.

Lachman, Sheldon L. & Singer, Benjamin D. The Detroit Riot of July 1967. Report prepared for the Manpower Administration, Department of Labor, Behavior Research Institute, Detroit, Michigan, 1968.

Report of a study to determine basic demographic characteristics, attitudes toward Negro leadership and civil rights, information about preferred communications media and use of such media with special reference to the riot, ideas concerning causation, prevention, means of breaking up civil disturbances, and information about economic welfare of persons alleged to have taken part in the July 1967 riot in Detroit, Michigan.

A.1. Data on psychological, social and economic background of five-hundred persons was collected through questionnaires.
2. Half the respondents had been out of work at least once during the preceding year.
3. More than four percent did not work at all and one-third missed six full weeks or more during the preceding year.

A.4. About half thought that conditions for Negroes in Detroit had improved in the preceding year.
  5. The interviewers evaluated the respondents on a five-point scale with regard to cooperation. The obtained mean score was 4.2, well above the average of 3.0.

D. Description of background of events leading to the rioting and a consideration of the major values of the report.

Landrum, John William. The effects of the Los Angeles County neighborhood youth corps program on the performance of enrollees in school. Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1967.

A study to evaluate the performance of enrollees in school following their participation in the 1965-1966 Los Angeles County Schools, Neighborhood Youth Corps work-training program and to identify values of the project and to determine program areas where improvement was needed as perceived by participants.

A.1. Enrollees who participated for 7 or more months in the program showed minimal but significant comparative improvement in school attendance and in scholastic marks.
  2. No significant differences among the groups for citizenship marks. This finding was considered inconclusive because of the apparent invalidity of the 3-point citizenship measuring scale.
  3. Enrollees primarily valued the program as means of satisfying their immediate financial needs and valuable work experiences and not for improving their school performance, enhancing their personal attributes, or enabling them to stay in school.
  4. A majority of them indicated a need for more hours of work, a greater variety of work experiences.
  5. Coordinators and job supervisors asserted that the main improvement was in the enrollees social maturity, personal appearance and employability.

B.1. All evidence and data trends indicate the positive effects of participation in the project on the enrollees behavior.
  2. However, actual behavioral chance occurring within a single project year may be regarded as minimal from a practical point of view.

Lecht, Leonard A. Implications for Education and Job Training, Manpower Requirements for National Objectives in the 1970's.

Center for Priority Analysis, National Planning Association, Washington D.C., February 1968.

Nation's programs emphasize expansion in educational opportunity to cope with poverty and racial discrimination.

B.1. Educational attainment is the most important determinant of receptivity to vocational training.
  2. In spite of increased opportunities and facilities in higher education, race and family income are still decisive factors in determining who shall attend college.
  3. More meaningful education of youths in poverty areas is the long-term remedy preliminating lack of job skills.

C.1. Educational programs for the very young with follow-up measures are required so that advances made before the first grade are not lost in succeeding years.
2. Neighborhood Youth Corps should provide income and work and motivate teenagers from disadvantaged backgrounds to remain in school.
3. Improved educational opportunity furthers social goals by reducing illiteracy, poverty, and unemployment and encourages economic growth.

Leshner, S. & Snyderman, G.S. Preparing disadvantaged youth for work. Employment Service Review, Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Bureau of Employment Security, Washington D.C., 1966.

A description of a project in Philadelphia to train school dropouts.

C.1. Trainees were given individual and group counseling and helped to segregate external employment conditions from personal anxieties.
2. Individuals own values system become considered in retraining program.
3. Work should be realistic, competitive with and contracted from private industry.
4. Wages must be realistic.
5. Counselors must not accept failure, but work to eliminate it.

Lesser, G.S. The relationship between various forms of aggression and popularity among lower-class children. In J.O. Apple (Ed.) Readings in Educating the Disadvantaged. New York, Selected Academic Reading, Inc., 1966.

A questionnaire study.

A.1. The subjects were 74 boys, ages 10-13, in 5th and 6th grades, white, upper-lower class.
2. A sociometric instrument was used to determine each boy's popularity with classroom. A questionnaire was used to determine each subject's aggressiveness as perceived by classmates.
3. A negative correlation between popularity and aggression was found, challenging past ideas of aggression as a value among lower class.
4. Kinds of aggression were identified in relation to degree of disapproval.
5. Teachers often encourage verbal and indirect aggression as non-destructive while these are most disliked by children.

Levens, Helene. Organizational affiliation and powerlessness: A case study of the welfare poor. Social Problems, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1968.

An attempt to determine whether the relationship between organizational affiliation and powerlessness exists among the welfare poor.

The study population consisted of Negro and Puerto Rican Aid to Families with Dependent Children mothers who were members of a welfare client organization and a control group of non-members of Aid to Families with Dependent Children, residing in the same community.

A.1. There is a negative relationship between organizational affiliation and powerlessness.
2. Membership in the welfare client organization significantly reduced attitudes of powerlessness.

Levin, Melvin R. Public Entrepreneurship in Distressed Areas. Boston University Graduate Journal, Vol. 15, No. 2, Spring 1967.

Description of Massachusetts redevelopment area to illustrate that the distressed areas are lacking in or have a weak combination of leadership and technical expertise required to reduce their social and economic problems.

A.1. The quality of the public school system accurately reflects community leaderhsip.
2. Educational deficiencies, though partly due to lack of funds, are also due to inadequate public and civic leadership, including school administrators.
3. Data for 13 Massachusetts cities indicate that funds for urban renewal are not proportional to the population of the area.
4. Greater physical and human resource problems increase the gap.
5. Smaller cities are less successful in securing federal and state grants-in-aid.

B.1. Redevelopment areas tend to be provincial.
2. Local bureaucracies are often weak.
3. 'Little league' are often used for self-evaluation.

C.1. Federal efforts through the Economic Development Administration will attract dynamic leadership into urban renewal and economic development programs.
2. Technical expertise in universities in or near redevelopment areas is the second source of optimism.

Levin, Tom. Pre-school Education and the Communities of the Poor. In Jerome Hellmuth, (ed.) Disadvantaged Child, Vol. I. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Seguin School, Inc., 1964.

Description of the programs of Child Development Group of Mississippi, an organization interested in establishing a community-based pre-school program in poor Mississippi Negro communities.

B.1. By 1965, 84 pre-school centers run by Child Development Group of Mississippi in 60 impoverished urban and rural Negro communities.
2. In 1965, expansion of Child Development Group of Mississippi from a demonstration project to a statewide program with a community base.
3. Goals of Child Development Group of Mississippi in common with Civil Rights movement.
4. The goals are social, political and economic justice rather than political interest.

C.1. Four concepts basic to program of Child Development Group of Mississippi have relevance to education and other federal poverty programs. The concepts are:
   a. Preconceived concepts of child development can not be imposed on poor communities.

C.1. b. Increased participation in and administration of a community program by the poor prevents its being viewed as an external agent.
c. Non-professionals should be given dignified work and educational opportunity to attain professional status.
d. Head Start should be an instrument for social change; that is, the community has to be redeemed before the child can be redeemed.

Leviton, S.A. The Military: A new recruit in the war on poverty. American Child, Vol. 48, No. 4, 1966.

B. 30% of the 600,000 Rejectives are Negro, most without education. A discussion of McNamara's plan to provide special education and training courses designed to make eligible those who otherwise are ineligible for the military due to lack of education.
Critics argue it will shake the poor into common fodder; make the Army a Welfare agency; cause the schools to further abdicate their rule; make the poor militaristic.
Author argues: Armed forces are equipped to do the job; military discipline may be necessary for poor to learn; others in society go through the military without becoming militaristic; injustice in draft according to income must be stopped (by drafting more college students?).

C. Therefore, the armed forces should take on this role.

Levitan, S.A. Programs in Aid of the Poor. Poverty and Human Relations Abstracts, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1966.

Evaluation and commentary on various poverty programs.

C.1. The present methods of providing aid to the poor are inadequate, they fail to meet the needs of the poor and they tend to destroy initiative. He suggests alternatives of family allowances, negative income taxes, and model of veterans administration to give aid without degradation and discouragement of initiative. Since it is impossible to achieve national goal it is necessary to rationally establish priorities.

2. Suggested order of priorities to eliminate poverty:
   a. Short run needs for services.
   b. Minimum wage legislation.
   c. Eliminate discrimination against Negroes and other minorities.
   d. Evaluation of present program, e.g. Head Start.
   e. Birth control for poor.
   f. Adequate diets.
3. Priorities:
   a. Birth control cost is 1/20 of savings in A.F.D.C. grants.
   b. Aiding children: increase funds to children; to meet standards of $600 per individual would cost 1 billion more a year.
   c. Job creation & work relief: Many jobs in public sector requiring unskilled labor need to be done, could employ 300,000 at a cost of one billion.
   d. Housing: Cost 30 billion to remove all sub-standard housing.

C.4. One billion dollars per year assigned to fight poverty not adequate. More may be needed to prevent increased violence.

Levitan, Sar A. Head Start: It is Never Too Early to Fight Poverty. December 10, 1967.

Discussion on the value, scope, and direction of the Head Start, a public and Congressional supported program to fight poverty through providing education to the poor.

B.1. Studies suggest that summer programs yield only temporary benefits and non-Head Start children from similar backgrounds soon catch up to the Headstart children.
  2. However, factors other than the cognitive achievement must be considered in assessing the total impact of the program.
    a. Head Start children are frequently more motivated and responsive than their non-Head Start peers.
  3. The Administration and OEO play politics with the Head Start program by sacrificing quality, and for attempting to sell Head Start as an educational panacea.
    a. Instead of summer programs, a more realistic role for Head Start would be as a pre-school program for primary schools offering poor children an enriched and more comprehensive education.
  4. Head Start has affected other educational systems through:
    a. The use of sub-professional aides to provide individual attention to students, to relieve teachers of routine tasks, and to provide employment for the poor.
    b. A broad approach to services for children.
    c. An emphasis on dealing with each child as a developing individual.
    d. Encouraging state support of public kindergartens.
    e. The involvement of parents in an advisory capacity; and of the stimulation of research into the educational needs of two and three-year olds.

Levitan, Sar A. Upward Bound: Fighting Poverty with a Sheepskin. Center for Manpower Policy Studies, The George Washington University Press, Vol. III, No. 6, November-December 1968.

Description and discussion of the aims, needs and resources, content and achievements of Upward Bound--a program unitiated by OEO to enable youths (with potential) from low-income backgrounds to gain entry to higher education.

A.1. In 1967, one-half of enrollees were Negro.
  2. Median family income of enrollees was $3,451.
  3. 74% belonged to urban areas.
  4. 48% came from families of both parents and 31% came from families with only mothers.
  5. Mothers of 27% of enrollees and parents of 19% were high school graduates.
  6. OEO claims that of 5,000 who participated in 1967 and graduated from Upward Bound, nearly 80% entered college.
  7. A follow-up study found that nine out of every ten were still

enrolled in college during the Spring of 1968.

A.8. Eight of every ten Upward Bound Participants who graduated from High School were in College two years later.

B.1. The 'prestige' colleges often admit only one or two students as a token gesture.

2. Thus, many students enroll in community or junior colleges, teachers' colleges or similar institutions with relatively low admission barriers.

3. About 80% of the Negro students are enrolled in Negro colleges.

C 4. Some projects seek students who are likely to go to college even without the benefit of Upward Bound and thus avoid high-risk students.

C.1. Improvement in chances of participatns to enter college, and motivation to continue their education.

2. It cannot have an impact on the course of higher education in the United States.

3. Brings to the surface the need for providing a remedial program for students who possess intellectual capacity but have failed in school.

4. Reflects a change in societal attitudes insofar as it offers youth a second chance to acquire a college education.

Levitan, Sar A. VISTA - The Great Society's Domestic Volunteers, Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan - Wayne State University, Vol. 3, No. 5, September-October 1968.

Evaluation of the VISTA program from various aspects.

A.1. Some 5,000 full-year volunteers in June 1968 on 447 projects located in every state except Mississippi. 3,200 of these were assigned to projects and the rest were in training.

2. About 85% volunteers worked with community action agencies of CAP funded programs; the remainder with the mentally ill or retarded, the JOB Corps etc.

3. They are equally divided between urban community action agencies and rural projects including Indian reservations and migrants.

4. An estimated 10% volunteers are from the ranks of the poor.

B.1. Criteria determining selection of projects are:
   a. the activities must appear likely to improve the lives of the poor;
   b. direct contact between volunteers and the poor;
   c. supervision by sponsoring organization;
   d. their location in areas of greatest need, as indicated by indices of poverty; and
   e. volunteers must be invited to serve in the area, and the project must have government's approval.

2. Types of work to which volunteers are assigned range from referral services, health screening, Head Start recruitment and recreation programs to the development of training programs, or support for tenant unions and rent strikes.

C.1. The most common problem, while working with and living among the poor, is 'over-identification' with their clientele, thus becoming suspect to the rest of the community.

C.2. Evaluation of VISTA must take into account 'dedication', involvement and similar unmeasurable qualities.
  3. In urban areas VISTA volunteers on assignments requiring simple skills may be depriving the non-professionals from among the poor of such jobs.
  4. Rural areas that lack social services, technical skills, and communication with the outside world may be more fertile grounds for VISTA efforts.
  5. Concentrate resources where the supply of essential services to the poor is limited and can't be mobilized, e.g. the Indian reservations and migrants.

Lewis, Oscar. A study of slum culture: Backgrounds for La Vida. New York, Random House, 1968.

The second half of the book focusses on 50 Puerto Rican families in New York City in 1964-65. All were related to families studied in Puerto Rico.

A.1. They lived in Puerto Rican neighborhoods, perpetuating their native language and customs.
  2. Most of them worked in factories in New York, and all but a few held low-prestige jobs.
  3. About 40% of the wives worked also, mostly in factories.
  4. Occupationally, the families in the sample were in an even worse position than the New York Puerto Rican community as a whole.
  5. The median annual income of the sample families was $3,678.
  6. Unemployment was about 9%, and 20% of the families were on relief.
  7. The lowest income families had a history of separation, abandonment, and divorce.
  8. The educational attainment of the migrants was low, an average of 6.5 years completed by each adult. The lowest educational level of any major ethnic group in New York.
  9. The migrants changed little since coming to New York. However, they were better off economically than their relatives in Puerto Rico.
  10. Most felt alienated from the mainstream of white American middle-class protestant society.
  11. They felt that the disadvantages of living in New York were high rents, poor housing conditions, lawlessness, racial or ethnic discrimination, and climate.
  12. They had marked hostility toward American Negroes.

Liebow, Elliot. Men and Jobs, Tally's Corner, Boston. Little, Brown & Co., 1966.

This chapter focusses on the economic and psychological effects of the limited types of jobs available to Negro men of limited education. It is based on a study of a group of Negro 'streetcornermen' in Washington D.C.

B.1. a. The stereotype Negroes who 'don't-work-and-don't-want-to-work' are a small minority.

B.1. b. They are significant, however, because they represent the strongest expression of those occupational values and attitudes which so many Negro men are inevitably led to adopt.
  2. Most of the jobs pay too little to support a small family.
  3. In some cases, employers anticipate that the Negro employee will steal, so adjust his salary downward accordingly.
     a. Despite the fact that the employee will be fired or procecuted, if caught.
     b. It does not take into consideration that self-respect can only be measured by the amount publicly and voluntarily given in exchange for labor.
     c. It also does not allow for one who does not steal.
  4. a. Construction jobs pay better but are harder to get and harder to get to.
     b. They also make physical demands which many Negroes, because of inadequate diet or physical defects, are unable to meet.
     c. Even when such jobs are obtained, they are subject to weather and seasons, and the Negro is often the first to be laid off.
  5. The author quarrels with those who refer to the 'streetcornerman' as oriented to the present.
  6. Because the Negro 'streetcornerman' knows what his future will be--living in economic and psychological subsistence--he is obliged to expend all his resources in maintaining himself from moment to moment.
  7. The 'don't-want-to-work' minority are those who have realized completely that they can never win in any future.

Bibliography of related sociological studies.

Loreton, J.O. & Umons, S. Teaching the Disadvantaged: New Curriculum Approaches. New York, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1966.

Poor children are far brighter than commonly believed. The school can counteract the effects of cultural deprivation. Programs designed for gifted children are often good for culturally deprived children.

C.1. Emphasis on self-instructional devices.
  2. Utilize skills the disadvantaged already have, e.g. acute sense of hearing, gesture, movement (a child can understand concepts without being able to verbalize it).
  3. The need is for a teacher who thinks positively and will treat disadvantaged children as having potential.

Curriculum ideas presented for English, history, math, science and social science.

Lyford, Joseph P. The Airtight Cage: A Study of New York's West Side. New York, Harper & Row, 1966.

A report on the life of the poor who are isolated from the mainstream of middle-class American life in a slum area of New York City, based on the personal experiences of the author.

Sources of information were personal observations, experience, and reading; Kraft Survey; and unstructured interviews of the residents.

B.1. The kind of people who live there are Negroes, Puerto Ricans, 'illegal people' whom society funnels into such areas, and the middle class.
  2. These human beings are imprisoned in an airtight cage of poverty, frustration and fear.
  3. There are no roots, no sense of belonging; there is no community. People live side by side without ever learning to live together.
  4. There is a continual waste and loss of human life in the city, particularly among children, who are crippled in mind and spirit.
  5. Society is somehow able to ignore what is going on. The tragedy is abstract rather than real. Most Americans are "good German" who have learned to live with the process.
  6. The system, which is the villain, is turning more and more of our resources away from the nurture of human life and into the destruction of it.

C.1. The author's hopes for the future include an organization of the poor, planned rather than accidental civilization, and a working coalition of all three levels of government.

MacNee, Holly. Learning the Hard Facts of Hardcore Unemployment, The Conference Board Record, Vol. 5, No. 8, August 1968.

Report of the proceedings of a workshop includes accounts of the personal experiences of six young high school dropouts who are working with the job corps.

A.1. Basic agreement by members on the need for basic education, along with the creation of new institutions for apprenticeship programs, changes in vocational education, combined work-school complexes, and training in work facilities away from actual job situation.
  2. Programs that eliminate a classroom atmosphere, provide workers with counselors, replace principals with managers, and provide teachers with compassion have proved most effective.
  3. Workshop participants agreed on the following points:
    a. Training requires support and encouragement, pay during training, and instructors able to relate to the hard-core.
    b. Work requires continued support, possible transfers, and lower initial production expectations.
    c. Recruiting requires re-examination of actual job requirements and concrete job opportunities as a certainty to follow training.

C.1. The problem of young dropouts who do not like the school situation must be considered by industries planning training programs.
  2. Teachers must begin at the level where the students are; they must relate to people rather than subject matter.
  3. Reports from Congressmen stress the need for business and industry to pressure the Congress into action and so that the Administration supports further legislation for employment, basic education programs, vocational and job training, and apprenticeship programs.

Mc Kissick, F.B. & Young, W.M. Jr. The Negro and the Army: Two Views. American Child, Vol. 48, No. 4, 1966.

A.1. 67.5% of Negro, and 18.8% of whites fail mental tests for induction into Army.
  2. Yet Negroes are overrepresented in battle (18% of Vietnam casualties are Negro).
B.1. McNamara's plan shows 'cynical and callous disregard for the needs of these men' and does not allow for full participation of each individual in our progress.
  2. McNamara's plan would teach Negroes to read and write; provide skills useful after discharge. Army's programs get funded, Army known for giving the most for the least money. A fair plan to use the selective service and the armed forces to assist.

Mack, Raymond W. Poverty and Education: The Rhetoric of Opportunity in a Changing Social Structure. Proceedings of a Conference on Research on Poverty, Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., Washington D.C., June 1968.

Discussion of the relationship between lack of education and lack of money: the lower the occupational level of the parents, the lower the educational attainment of their children.

A.1. a. Data from the Blau and Duncan study of the occupational structure of the United States confirm that Negroes, whose occupational chances remain inferior when education and background are controlled, do have high probabilities of continuing their education to advanced levels.
  b. Whereas white minorities, whose occupational rewards for given educational investments are not inferior, do have high rates of continuing education.
C.1. Active intervention in the area of poverty and education.
  2. Improvement in urban schools only with the attainment of enough political power (by those whose children attend these schools) either to destroy and replace the school bureaucracy or to impress upon it that they can no longer be patronized.
  3. a. The quality of education will vary according to community resources if the local financing of schools is available.
  b. There will be no improvement nationally.
  4. The survival of our society depends not only on finding the brightest youths and educating them to the limits of their abilities, but also on maximizing educational opportunity and motivation for all.

Malik, Mukhtar. Welfare Children in School, Canadian Welfare, Vol. 44, No. 2, March-April, 1968.

Summary of a Canadian Welfare Council study which compared the school performance of children from 399 welfare families with that of children from 181 unassisted families in the same socio-economic stratum.

A.1. Children on assistance perform poorly; boys worse than girls.
  2. More children in assistance families than in control families fail their academic careers, and more of them are behind in

their careers, when grades and chronological age are compared.

B.1. The hypothesis that the goals and values of the parents are transmitted to children is supported by both the attitudes and behavior expressed by the children.

C.1. The characteristics which distinguish the welfare families from their social equals and which force the environment should be the focus of changes in the school and welfare systems.

2. Means should be found in Canada to bring the best facilities in teaching, to low income areas, e.g. school social workers who can help assistance recipients to realize the uses of education.

3. New curricula both for children and for adults can be devised to meet the needs of low income families.

Malone, Charles A., M.D. The Psychosocial Characteristics of the Children from a Developmental Viewpoint. In Eleanor Pavenstedt (Ed.) The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Lower-class Families. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

Summary of children's psychosocial characteristics in relation to environmental influences (particularly influences of deprivation, devaluation and danger) and developmental processes. This chapter uses descriptive data from relationship oriented services to the children in the nursery school and to the families in the home. Children's psychosocial characteristics are discussed in two parts, maternal deprivation and external danger as formative environmental influences; and the leading features of the child's make-up as illustrations of the interrelated effects of the classes of influence.

B.1. Many leading characteristics are found to be similar to those reported in other studies on maternal deprivation.

2. Children in multi-problem families grow up in an environment with a strong sense of devaluation with far-reaching effects on growth.

3. Regular exposure to real danger in the family and neighborhood (external danger and survival) influences their growth in a number of ways.

4. This influence is illustrated by four sets of qualities--danger orientation, visual and auditory hyper-alertness to some stimuli and hypo-alertness to others; use of various forms of denial; and areas of precocious ability, as in role reversal with parents in various practical matters.

Martin, John Henry. A Model Program for Educationally Deprived Children, New Jersey Community Action Training Institute, Trenton, J.Y., 1968.

The effect of slums, poverty, and parental attitudes in the intellectual level of Negro children.

B.1. When the Negro child does not succeed in school, he turns to anti-social activities to prove to himself that he is not a failure.

2. Many elementary schools have introduced practices which have been successful in Head Start, to meet this problem: small classes, a new role for the psychologist, large numbers of non-professional teacher aides, new technology, new recognition

of the importance of nutrition and of the role of medicine in education.

B.3. More is needed to bring the slum child up to the level of the middle-class suburban child.

C.1. Outline of a model program for educationally deprived children: change in the attitude of the teacher of slum children.

2. Upgrading the elementary schools and mixing the ages of the children (the grade system does not allow for individual differences).

3. A specialist should not work in isolation, but as part of a diagnostic team.

4. Superintendents and principals must observe the instruction process as it relates to the child and then work with the teacher to diagnose and change the methods used.

5. Provision of part-time jobs for junior and senior high school students.

6. Restructuring the system of vocational education; older students should be given jobs first and educated in conjunction with work.

Martin, John M. Lower Class Delinquncy and Work Programs, Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, New York, 1966.

Work programs and other remedies which deal with the individual delinquent cannot end delinquency. We can understand delinquency only in the context of a society as a whole.

B.1. Our stratified social structure plays a key role in creating delinquency, permitting little social mobility to specific groups. Lower-class Negroes, who are repressed, have the highest delinquency rate.

2. Perpetuation of social stratification by upper and middle-class power. For example, legal system defines delinquency according to middle-class norms.

3. It punishes or tries to cure delinquency by seeking to coerce or persuade delinquents to adopt middle-class values and life styles.

4. Given our class structure, there is no future for most delinquents in work training since they will return to the circumscribed lower-class from which they came.

5. Training agencies could predict today which of their trainees will live out their lives on welfare; which will remain the lower-class with marginal employment; which can be helped by education, etc.

6. These last will be those few who already accept middle-class patterns.

C.1. Training agencies should make use of the categories of life-styles and lower-class subcultures divided by Madeline Engle, e.g. the upwardly mobile are strivers and their opposites are reliefers (dependent type) and hold-overs (the hardcore poor). In the center are the consistent and the inconsistent copers (work intermittently).

2. Continuing error has been our attention to the individual apart from his social milieu.

3. Knowledge of the specific subculture of each delinquent would

dictate solutions other than training and education for many of them.

C.4. Major and minor modifications should be tried.
5. The delinquents themselves could contribute innovations.
6. However, fundamental social change is the basic solution. Broad and satisfying social, economic and political opportunity must be open to everyone, including the most oppressed segments of the lower class.

Martin, Walter T. Occupational Differential by Color: Age-Sex-Specific Variations for Occupational Categories. Paper, 1967 Meeting of the Population Association of America, Inc., Cincinnati, April 1967. Abstracted in Population Index, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1967.

An analysis of data showing the differences in the occupational composition of whites and non-whites in the United States and the degree of modification of these differences between 1950 and 1960.

Description of a variation of the 'index of dissimilarity', which controls the effect of variations in the number of persons in each occupational category. For the computation of this standardized measure of occupational differentiation by color (MODC), the data are numbers of whites (or non-whites) per 1,000 persons in the occupation rather than the actual reported frequencies.

A.1. Differences between the 1950 and 1960 MODC's varied according to occupational category.
2. Identification of six types of changes.
   a. Change from predominance of non-whites in 1950 to that of whites in 1960.
   b. From equality to predominance of whites.
   c. From predominance of whites to equality.
   d. From predominance of whites to that of non-whites.
   e. From predominance of non-whites to equality.
   f. From equality to predominance of whites.
3. The distributions of Southern and non-Southern states were typically quite dissimilar.
4. Distribution patterns for males and females were also quite dissimilar.

Mason, Evelyn P. Comparison of Personality Characteristics of Junior High Students from American-Indian, Mexican, and Caucasian Ethnic Backgrounds, The Journal of Social Psychology, December 1967.

The California Psychological inventory was administered to 49 culturally disadvantaged junior students to determine the differential effects of cultural disadvantage.

The participants included 26 American-Indians (13 boys and 13 girls), 13 Caucasians (6 boys and 7 girls), and 10 Mexican-Americans (5 boys and 5 girls).

A.1. The Caucasian males mean scores were higher on the sub-tests of social presence and flexibility.
2. The mean scores for the Mexican males were higher on the sub-tests of responsibility, socialization, self-control, tolerance,

good impression, conventionality, achievement via conformity and intellectual efficiency.

A.3. Lower mean scores were given to the Indian males on the sub-tests of sense of well-being and intellectual efficiency.

4. Females, regardless of ethnic group, responded in a consistent negative pattern across the 18 sub-tests, with the Mexican females scoring the lowest and the Caucasian female the highest.

5. Low mean scores for all three female groups on the sub-tests of capacity for status, feeling of well-being, tolerance, and intellectual efficiency.

B.1. Cultural disadvantage has differential effects by sex and by ethnic group.

2. The acquiescence of the teenage girl to the effects of deprivation warrants further attention.

3. The American Indian's plight--family disorganization with fading tribal organization and strong prejudice--demands immediate attention.

Matchulat, John Jay. The Dropout Dilemma: An Aspect of the Poverty Syndrome, Industrial and Labor Relations Forum, Vol. 4, No. 4. New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., January 1968.

Study of the effects of education and under-education upon poverty. School withdrawal among disadvantaged children is related to their home situation and their parents' financial condition.

A.1. Dropouts are three times as likely as high school graduates to be members of families with incomes of less than $3,000 per year.

2. Several factors imbue the disadvantaged child with qualities not conducive to the completion of an education.

3. Strong relationships between education and income.

   a. In 1959, a college graduate could earn $417,000 during his lifetime, a high school graduate 247,000, and an elementary school graduate $184,000.

4. Education is important in breaking the cycle of poverty.

C.1. The school and the community should face the problems of poverty and under-education on two levels.

   a. They must convince the poor parent and the needy but able pupil that high school and post high school education is a realistic possibility--through aggressive counseling and casework with pupils, teachers, and parents.

   b. They must redefine work, study, and play, and begin to pay able but indignant students to finish high school and go on to college.

2. We shall remain frozen in the present situation in the absence of either or both of these moves.

Matza, D. The disreputable poor. In R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (Eds.) Class Stations and Power, New York, The Free Press, 1966.

A description of disreputable poverty.

B. The minority of poverty stricken don't work when they are able and jobs are available.

B.1. They are a problem to society, because of crime, etc.
2. They consist of four groups.
    a. Newcomers--some escape into majority.
    b. Dregs--lack family stability, etc., necessary to mobility.
    c. The infirm--elderly and ill.
    d. Skidders--alcoholics, addicts, and perverts
3. Caused in the United States in great part by enslavement degradation of the Negro.
4. Caused in England by abortive social reform. 1795 "Speenhamland System" rewarded idleness, mixed laborers with paupers. 1834 reforms--forced paupers to work in workhouses--caused massive pauperization.
5. Concept of fractional selection--some of paupers are able through unknown processes to rise above poverty.
6. Disreputable poor decreasing.

Mauch, James E. & Denenmark, Frieda. *Educational Deficiencies of Disadvantaged Youth - Title I, ESEA, 1965.* Center for the Study of Unemployed YOuth, New York, June 1966.

Description of some aspects of educational deficiencies in disadvantaged groups.

A.1. Education even five years beyond high school is not guarantee that the Negro will find and keep a job that pays well; produces feelings of status and self-respect and provides for upward mobility.
2. A 1966 study by the Urban League shows that non-whites 16 to 24 years of age have a high unemployment rate whether they graduate or not, and non-whites, male and female, with one or more years of college have a higher unemployment rate than whites with only a high school diploma.
3. Educational standards used to screen candidates for jobs do not relate to the actual skills required for the job and makes the Negro the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

B.1. The Negro's lack of education is a critical factor in his unemployability which in turn makes it difficult to strengthen the educational motivations of his children.
2. Other factors affecting educational motivation are de facto segregation of housing and child-rearing practices which result in different learning styles that do not relate to the middle-class educational situation.
3. Dr. Kenneth Clark blames the schools for the educational deficiencies of the poor, as for example, the progressive falling behind in school of these children, the tenuous link between environment and performance as evidenced by a few excellent Harlem schools, etc.

C.1. A greatly improved education system, coupled with open opportunity in our employment structure, is crucial.
2. Given the truism that we get the kind of schools we want and are willing to pay for, some changes in the allocation of scarce resources, arrangement of our reward system, and major social and political attitudes are necessary.
3. Programs such as in-service training for teachers, improvement

of institutional instruction through supervisory personnel and full-time specialists, remedial programs, health, psychiatric and social servides, and even the provision of books, clothing etc. are some of the suggestions.

C.4. Recommendations for programs involving the parents and the community, the teacher and the student.

Maxwell, Joseph W. Rural Negro Father Participation in Family Activities. Rural Sociology, Vol. 33, No. 1, March 1968.

Role of the lower-class Negro fathers in the activities of their families. Comparison made in four areas of family living: household tasks; child care and control functions; economic functions; and social functions.

A.1. Role of the father in families with working and non-working wives.
2. In general, no significant differences was found in a comparison of a number of activities of husbands of working and non-working wives.
3. In particular, a greater proportion of husbands of working wives performed household tasks and social functions by themselves.
4. In every area except household tasks, a greater proportion of husbands of working wives shared the tasks with other family members.
5. Significant difference in the economic functions category since seven important differences found in specific activities within this category.
6. Findings do not support the assumptions that the lower-class Negro father fails to share in family activities.
7. The employment of the mother increases the participation of the father in family activities.

Mayer, Herta & Schamess, Gerald. The Importance of Maintaining Long-Term Treatment Services for the Economically Deprived Family. Presented at 45th Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, Chicago, Illinois, March 22, 1968.

The importance of long-term treatment facilities for the poor as an integral part of designated services. Long-term treatment is defined as regularly scheduled therapy sessions lasting from 1 to 4 years with intermittent follow-up.

B.1. Community mental health programs have provided a variety of needed services.
2. The process of establishing new facilities has created difficult problems in maintaining and expanding child-guidance services for multi-problem families in poor neighborhoods.

C.1. Need for long-term treatment because it represents the best way of bringing about lasting basic changes in life-long pathological patterns of adaptation.
2. Two case studies illustrate the use of various treatment modalities.
   a. The treatment of an 11-year old white Jewish boy included individual therapy for the child and parents, group therapy

for the child, remedial education for a big brother, referral to a social work camp, and referral to a residential treatment center for adolescents.

b. Teacher-therapist approach was used on an 11-year old Negro boy. The tutor gave the treatment under the supervision of a therapist.

C.3. Second approach was considered essential with families who cannot recognize or accept that they have emotional problems, but who are willing to involve themselves in the less threatening service of tutoring.

4. The argument for long-term treatment facilities is that professionals cannot suggest treatment methods which are inappropriate for a given case.

5. The development of more vigorous community programs is essential for basic social changes.

Mayhew, Leon H. Discrimination and the Negro Community. Law and Equal Opportunity: A Study of the Massachusetts Commission against Discrimination. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1968.

Statistics are presented in this chapter to show how the Boston Negro is discriminated against in employment and housing.

A.1. Certain types of jobs are still not open to Negroes, e.g. line authority, sales positions in small firms, and certain non-sales positions involving contact with the public.

2. Among males the ratio of median Negro income to median white income declined from .719 in 1949 to .662 in 1959.

3. There was a gain in the female income. Thus the figures for the total population remained constant.

4. Relative economic deprivation of the Negroes continues despite considerable improvement in the relative educational status of the races.

5. Limited supply of housing open to Negroes are demonstrated by comparing the rents paid by Negroes and whites for comparable housing.

a. The median gross monthly rental paid by Negroes for sub-standard housing was $65; and $59 for whites.

b. Yet a national study shows that in 1965 the sub-standard Negro housing was worse than white housing.

c. Negroes are relatively excluded from low-priced housing.

d. Negroes are under-represented as home owners, and the homes they own are usually sub-standard.

B.1. Discrimination in employment can result in reduced profits for the businessmen, whereas it in housing means social costs resulting from misallocation of resources. These social costs are not communicated to the private sector as are the economic costs in the labor market.

2. Prejudice affects the demand for housing in integrated areas.

3. Thus, the patterns of Negro housing seem to reflect the prejudices of the community rather than its values.

Meier, Deborah. From a Harlem School, Dissent, Vol. 25, 1968.

This article focusses on parent-teacher relationships in an urban slum.

B.1. Ghetto Negroes feel hostile toward teachers and the school system because of four myths:
  a. That the lower classes of the past--that is, the early immigrants were, unlike the Negroes, given an education which enabled them to become part of the American middle-class.
  b. That Harlem schools used to teach children, and children really learned in them.
  c. Urban Negroes and Puerto Ricans believe that only colored people are deprived of an adequate education.
  d. That all whites have access to fairly unlimited power and can do with it almost anything they choose.
2. a. Thus, if Black children fail to learn, it is because the teachers have consciously decided not to let them learn.
  b. The only way to foil this conspiracy is for Blacks to take over the school system.
3. Parents in the slums fail to realize that parents in good suburban schools know how to organize schools so that professionals have greater freedom.
4. Because the professionals respect the social values that are part of their students' world and are able to produce students who succeed in that world, there is not the same distrust of professionalism.
5. Though the vast majority of Harlem parents share the feelings of the extremists, the average parent remains inactive in school issues and if he does become active, it is more likely to be in the traditional PTA than in the Black Power groups.
6. A substantial number of parents are willing to work with their children's teachers in order to produce a better school system.

Meltzer, Jack & Whitley, Joyce. Social and physical planning of the urban slum. Goals for Urban America, J. Brian, L. Berry & Jack Meltzer (Eds.), Engelwood Cliffs, N.Y., Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1967.

The quality of life of slum residents is not so much a result of their own choice as of decisions others make for them. It is necessary to readapt the goals of slum areas so that they are commensurate with their needs and aspirations.

B.1, Lack of coordination between the various programs and agencies which operate in the slums.
2. Thus the professionals involved in physical and social planning have failed to achieve the desired impact.
3. Public and private agencies have taken on characteristics of competing services, thus undermining parallel activity, proliferating slum problems, and compounding confusion.
4. For optimum progress, comprehensive plans must be developed for joint activity which encompass the problems recognized in the physical and social spheres.
5. What is needed are goals in a high order of specificity and evaluation system which is problem-solving oriented and dedicated to the accomplishments of an integrated program, with a focus on ends rather than means.

Melville, Robert S. What are the Factors which Enhance or Retard Educational Achievement of Navajo Indian Students in the Sevier School District.

Study to identify the factors which enhance or retard the educational achievement of Navajo Indian students in Utah. 97 students were selected for purposes of this study. The factors hypothesized were mental ability, reading ability, level of anxiety, self-concept, achievement motivation, verbal concept choice, and interaction with the dominant culture.

Areas of study were:
a. Historical records for information on education of Navajo Indians.
b. The difference between the Navajo and their non-Navajo classmates in each of the selected factors.
c. Relationship of these factors to the academic achievement of the Navajos.

A.1. Reading ability exerted greatest influence over the academic achievement of the Navajo students.
2. Mental ability and interaction with the dominant culture were other factors.
3. The presence and intensity of the achievement motive as a factor of little significance, while the level of anxiety and the self-concept neither enhanced nor retarded the academic achievement of Navajos.
4. More factos affected the academic achievement of non-Navajo than of Navajo students.

C.1. Many aspects of this study have implications for research in the education of minority ethnic groups.

Mercer, William A. *Meaningful Job Development and Training of the Hard Core by Business and Industry*. Presented at the Race Relations and Industry 1968 Seminar, New York City, 1968.

The paper concerns the development of a meaningful job and training program for the hard-core unemployed by the Business and Industrial Co-ordinating Council of Newark, New Jersey, more specifically its Experiment and Demonstration (E & D) manpower project, project SEED (Skill Escalation and Employment Development).

C.1. Project SEED provides training and jobs.
2. 2,300 people have been entered in 17 training programs.
3. 1,065 have completed training and 151 are still in training.
4. 72% of those completing training are in jobs.
5. In view of the success of SEED, a job development and training program requires two things:
    a. Short-term, prevocational, prehiring programs by companies to enable the hard core unemployed to pass entrance requirements.
    b. To utilize community people in ghetto recruitment.
6. Problems that may be encountered are:
    a. Transportation may have to be provided from the plant to a conveniently located central point.
    b. Customs such as respect for time are totally unacceptable to ghetto residents.
    C. Some ghetto people do not want to work.

d. Too much time may be spent between completion of the program, the job interview, and starting on a new job.

c. Counseling of a personal and vocational nature and information must be part of the training program. The business and industrial community must convince the Negro community of its sincerity about equal employment opportunities. Some role models must be produced with which the disadvantaged can identify.

Miller, S.M. Poverty and Stratification. Presented at the International Seminar on Poverty, University of Essex, 1967.

Various dimensions of social stratification, not income alone, are essential to a discussion of poverty in the modern world.

B.1. There are differences among groups within the society.

2. Apart from class, status, power (Max Weber's dimensions for stratification), the author considers social mobility as an important dimension.
3. Income is the main definer of class position because:
   a. The links between occupation and income are becoming indistinct.
   b. The poor are a complexity of groups with only low income in common.
   c. Government policy defines groups by income level for purposes of income tax and welfare assistance.
4. But income is no longer an adequate indicator of economic level.
5. Awareness of elements (new) in access to subsidies, public services and the new role of the government as a distributor of resources is necessary to modernize the concept of class.
6. The participation of the government complicates the traditional relationship between source of income and status. As for example:
   a. If government payments are based on productivity (agricultural subsidies) of future productivity (education) no stigma is attached.
   b. If payments connected with a 'bad' life style, there is stigma.
7. Current research rejects the notion of a uniform life style among the poor.
8. Education is becoming crucial in social stratification as the major force in social mobility.
   a. In addition to its economic role, education effects the way individuals are treated by other people and by organizations.
   b. The increasingly important social division is not at the manual/non-manual work boundary, but at the college diploma/professional-managerial level.

Miller, S.M. & Bryce, Herrington. The Promotion of Social Mobility. Paper. Subcommittee on Social Stratification and Mobility, World Congress of Sociology, Evian, France, September 1966.

Sociologists should strive to discover how public policy can promote social mobility. Social mobility should be increased through public support of both structural and individual-familial measures and through major reforms in schools. Modern development planning must adapt to operating in public.

B.1. Education accounts for 80% of the international variation in upward mobility as gauged by the movement of workers from manual to non-manual jobs.

2. Urbanization is another structural factor in mobility. People who move to cities often advance in status by entering industrial occupation.

3. Another approach to social mobility is familial and individual. Mobile workers resemble those in the stratum into which they move; they have higher measured I.Q.; often their parents or parent has an above average education, etc.

C.1. Society should provide deprived children with the kinds of background support which mobile, well-educated families supply: distribution of free books for educational stimulation.

2. School can make clear to parents and children how much daily homework is expected, and can involve parents in their children's achievements.

3. Homework centers can provide quiet and space. Teachers should take a personal interest in children to bolster self-confidence and motivation.

4. Schools must find teaching techniques to stimulate students to whom traditional school programs seem irrelevant.

5. If a school system would use teaching tracks, it should require that a minimum percentage of students move between tracks periodically, thus forcing teachers to consider their students' changing capabilities.

6. Children from disadvantaged backgrounds should be provided with successful models.

7. College attendance should be encouraged through scholarships and by continuation of public welfare to families with children in college.

Miller, S.M. & Roby, Pamela. Education and Redistribution: The Limits of a Strategy. 1969.

Economists, proponents of government poverty programs and educators suggest that the obvious need in poverty reduction is to increase the educational levels of the poor.

B.1. The educational strategy for poverty reduction suffers from four major limitations.

2. It neglects many poor people, e.g. the aged, the working poor, the families of the youngsters, etc.

3. Its goals are difficult to achieve, requiring a radical redistribution of resources and first-rate staffs.

4. It is only partially effective for those youths who do not obtain education because discrimination and other factors intervene between education and income, as for example:

   a. Style of life preferences, discriminatory practices, and uneven rewarding of various levels of educational attainment, intervene between education and income.

   b. Sharp differences between the earnings and the occupational distributions of Negroes and whites with same level of education.

5. Its heavy emphasis on education unanticipatedly damages individuals and society by constricting alternative channels of occupational mobility and by restricting the pluralism of social values.

B.6. If educational strategies are now viewed in perspective, an overemphasis on education may lead to neglect of economic assistance programs and be self-defeating.

C.1. In considering educational spending for the poor, we must weigh the present youth oriented strategy against other strategies for poverty reduction.

2. We must fight discrimination more directly to insure reduction of income and occupational gaps which persist between Blacks and whites.

3. For education to enrich rather than constrict, men must be free to choose to use or not to use it.

4. Educational programs alone cannot solve all problems of society's poverty.

Mintz, Norbett L. A Survey of Remedial Programs for Multi-problem Families and Their Pre-school Children. In Eleanor Pavenstedt (Ed.) The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

Description of remedial programs for multi-problem families and their pre-school children.

The programs are grouped into four classifications: reinforcement and programmed instruction, nutritional programs, and Negro populations, and public school programs. The projects include a pre-school program for the children and structured work for parents.

C.1. The programs are primarily educational-therapeutic rather than clinical-psychotherapeutic.

2. Two projects illustrate reinforcement and programmed instruction.

3. The University of North Carolina project differs from the others in that the pre-school experience takes place in the child's home rather than in a nursery school.

4. In Murfreesboro, Tenn., the experimental group had a significant gain in I.Q. scores compared to the control group, with the greatest gain in the group that ran a year longer.

5. Two studies incorporated a nutritional program--the Pine School of the State University of Iowa, and the Hawaii Department of Mental Health.

6. In several programs the study population consisted wholly or largely of Negro families.

Minuchin, Salvador, et al. The Disorganized and Disadvantaged Family: Structure and Process. Families of the Slums: An Exploration of Their Structure and Treatment. New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1967.

The relationship between home environment and a group of children, with particular reference to the disorganized, low socio-economic families with more than one delinquent child.

The study was undertaken by psychiatrists at the Wiltwyck School for Boys in New York. The problem is dealt with in three parts; capacity for self-observation and communication; socialization of affect, including modes of family contact; and family structure.

A.1. The children relate to their surroundings in a stereotyped way.

This relation includes several factors: a sense of being a passive recipient of stimuli; aggression without nuances of emotion; a narrow range of verbal response; and a concomitant inability to focus on an event so as to store and recover the experience.

A.2. The home environments studied are impermanent and unpredictable:
  a. Meals have no set time, order or place.
  b. A shared bed may be turned over to another child or visitor.
  c. Parents' responses to children's behavior are random, with emphasis on inhibition rather than guidance.
3. As a result the child becomes impulsive in his responses, searches the reactions of others for clues to the solution of conflict, and does not observe himself or the characteristics of a situation.

Mittlebach, Frank G. & Short, James. Rural Poverty in the West--Status and implications. The University of Kansas Law Review, Vol. 15, No. 4, May 1967.

A review of the current patterns of poverty existing today in the West.

A.1. The problem of poverty requires multi-dimensional approach since various factors like ethnicity, environment and socio-economic conditions are involved.
2. The need for legal services arises due to: the seasonality of much of farm work; the poor education of migrant children; and the poor quality of rural housing.
3. Legal services are almost inaccessible to the poor, particularly to Mexican-Americans and American-Indians.
4. Only 37 programs of the OEO legal service serve the Western region.
  a. Of these only 11 serve the rural population
  b. Most programs are in California.
  c. The major service being used in these programs has been domestic and personal counseling.

C.1. California experience suggests:
  a. Need for educating the poor rural about their legal rights to enable them to utilize the services offered.
  b. Need for cooperation between the OEO and State and local county bar associations.

Mittlebach, Frank G. and Marshall, Grace. The Burden of Poverty, Mexican-American Study Project, Advance Report S, University of California, Graduate School of Business Administration, Los Angeles.

Hoping to bring the poverty of the Mexican-Americans in the Southwestern United States to the attention of the public, the authors detail the prevalence of poverty among Mexican-Americans, its general characteristics, and suggestions for its alleviation.

A.1. Mexican-Americans constitute the second largest disadvantaged minority numbering 4 million.
2. 30-40% of them lie below the poverty line.

B.1. They have characteristics similar to the poor in the other areas of the country.
2. There is high concentration in urban areas.

C.1. It would be helpful to consider whether societal institutions produce and perpetuate poverty among minorities.
2. Public-supported schooling and manpower training to help individuals and deprived groups overcome specific handicaps to increase their earning capacity is more useful than traditional welfare and anti-poverty programs.
3. Modern education must be tailored to fit individual needs.
4. Various questions that need to be answered are: Does poor education result from poor schools, the low social value of education, a pressing need for a job because of the parent's poverty, or the youngster's expectations of low-payoff from better education as they observe discrimination in the labor market?

Mizruchi, Ephreium Harold. Aspiration and Poverty: A Neglected Aspect of Merton's Anomie. The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1967.

This analysis suggests that current conceptions of lower-class social processes require overhauling.

B.1. Many in the lower social classes either do not aspire to change their socio-economic condition or, if they desire change, are unwilling to take risks to bring it about.
2. Limited aspiration and risk-taking are the result of sociological and socio-psychological processes.
3. Internal and external obstacles to movement up the ladder of opportunity condition the non-mobile to an attitude of risk-avoidance.
4. There is outright discrimination against lower status groups by the upper classes.
5. In addition, those in the same class discourage others form moving ahead.
6. In sociological terms, there is little aspiration to begin with. The potential strains in the mobility process lead to withdrawal of aspiration for those who do aspire. As a result, there is a proclivity to anomie.

Moed, Martin et al. Problems in the Transition to Program Experimentation in Services for Upgrading the Employability of the Culturally Disadvantage Youth. Presented at the 75th Annual A.P.A. Convention, Washington D.C. 1967.

A summary of the author's experience in converting the Mobilization for Youth youth employment division, a large service oriented agency, into a Manpower Programs Research Laboratory for the rigorous study of program services.

B.1. Transitional problems affected philosophy and staff-morale.
2. Conflict between the values inherent in the commitment to provide services for the poor and the values inherent in the need to demonstrate the effectiveness of these services.
3. Satisfaction with his job enabled a counselor to tolerate interferences.
4. Greater acceptance of the research by counselors who were hired after the research began than the ones employed under the regular service concept.

B.5. Staff discussions helped overcome counselor's resistance.
  6. Since each case handled by a counselor had to be stated in clear terms for codification, the research program brought about a system of case accountability not usually found in a service effort.
C.1. Both programs under study must be qualitatively equal as well as each administered in an orderly fashion.
  2. An agency in transition must determine its obligation to non-experimental individuals who were already in the program at the beginning or who would re-apply at a later date.

Moynihan, Daniel P. Poverty in Cities. In James Q. Wilson (Ed.) The Metropolitan Enigma: Inquiries into the Nature and Dimensions of America's 'Urban Crisis', Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington D.C., 1967.

The author sees rising within American cities a pattern of demand and resistance that threatens instability of a damaging variety.

B.1. Poverty is largely an urban phenomenon.
  2. Urban poverty is concentrated among Negroes and other ethnic minorities and is closely associated with large and broken families.
  3. Urbanized and cultural proletariat make up the greatest number of urban poor.
  4. Today's poor are seeking jobs in a market that is increasingly becoming difficult for them.
  5. Much of contemporary poverty has to do with the nature of the American social welfare system.
  6. These are signs that the problem of poverty is growing more difficult and that its decline can no longer be assumed.
  7. There are three indications that poverty is hardening:
     a. The number of persons on welfare is rising.
     b. Studies in the aftermath of 1965-66 riots suggest that conditions of life in many slum areas of large cities are worsening.
     c. Disappearance of slums from the industrial democracies of northern and western Europe, while they persist in the United States.
  8. Oscar Lewis' conception of the culture of poverty is the most powerful explanatory hypothesis to emerge in the present age.
  9. However, detailed study of slum life which his analysis requires is yet to be done.
  10. Income redistribution will go a long way toward eliminating poverty in the United States.

Nam, Charles B., Rhodes, A. Lewis & Herriott, Robert E. School Retention by Race, Religion, and Socio-economic Status. The Journal of Human Resources, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1968.

Report on the measurements of the independent and joint effects of race, socio-economic status, religion, and residence on the probability of finishing high school.

2,950 youths in 16-17-year-old group are sampled to determine the independent and interactive effect of these variables. Analysis of 1,403 secondary schools containing male students and 1,396 schools containing female students.

A.1. Low socio-economic level, non-Catholic religious identification, and residence in the South are more closely associated than the other variables with leaving school before graduation.
  2. There are combinations of characteristics which increase or decrease the chances that an individual will become a high school graduate.
    a. Racial characteristics are of minor importance when other variables are controlled.
  3. Unusually high non-enrollment rates for blue-collar, big-city Negro males of the North and West and for blue-collar, small-town, rural Southern whites.
  4. Dropout rates did not deviate from the expected to as great a degree among schools as among individuals.
  5. Roman Catholic schools had lower than expected dropout rates.
  6. The rates for schools with higher proportions of Negroes and of youths from white-collar families were also below those predicted.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Unemployment, Family Structure and Social Disorganization: A Recent Economic Trend Government Printing Office, Washington D.C, 1968.

In spite of gains in Negro income nationally and a decline in the number of Negroes below the poverty level, the condition of Negroes in the central city remains in a state of crisis.

A.1. In 1967, unemployment rate for Negroes was double that of whites.
  2. Negro men are more than three times as likely as white men to be in low paying unskilled or service jobs.
  3. This concentration in the lowest occupations is the most important cause of poverty among Negroes.
  4. Sub-employment rate in low-income neighborhoods was about 33% or 8.8 times greater than the over-all unemployment for American workers.
  5. In 1966, about 11.9% whites and 40.6% of non-whites had incomes below the poverty level ($3,335 per year for an urban family of four).
  6. Over 40% of non-whites below the poverty level live in the central cities.

B.1. Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto.
    a. Men who are chronically unemployed or employed in the lowest status jobs are often unable or unwilling to remain with their families.
    b. Thus the handicap of children growing up without fathers in an atmosphere of deprivation is increased as mothers are forced to work.
  2. The culture of poverty resulting from current unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto.
  3. Prostitution, dope addiction, casual sexual affairs, and crime create insecurity.

B.4. Children growing up under such conditions are likely to participate in civil disorder.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Recommendations for National Action, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1968.

C.1. To create a single society and a single identity, the following objectives are proposed:
  a. Opening up opportunities in employment, education, and housing by removing racial discrimination and segregation.
  b. Provide the disadvantaged means to deal with his problems and increase the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.
  c. Increased communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, halt polarization, and distrust and hostility, etc.
2. Major recommendations in employment include:
  a. Consolidating and concentrating employment efforts;
  b. Opening the job structure, creating one million jobs within three years in both sectors.
  c. Providing on-the-job training.
  d. Developing urban and rural poverty areas.
  e. Encouraging business ownership in the ghetto.
3. In education, the suggestions are:
  a. Increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation.
  b. Providing quality education in ghetto schools.
  c. Improving community-school relations.
  d. Expanding opportunities for higher and vocational education.
4. Major changes needed in the several areas of the welfare system.
5. Expand the housing supply for low-income families and open areas outside of ghetto neighborhoods for occupancy by racial minorities.

National Committee for Children and Youth. Project Challenge, Final Report, Washington D.C., 1968.

Discussion of an experimental and demonstration program for youthful offenders at the Lorton Youth Center in Lorton, Virginia.

Program included occupational training, counseling, employment and follow-up and community support. Curriculum included remedial education with vocational training.

C.1. Emphasis on 'screening-in' candidates rather than on screening them out.
2. Self-selection of training programs by trainees resulted in optimum participation in the learning process.
3. Trainees gained in educational development.
  a. As much as or more than comparable groups in eight public school systems across the nation.
  b. In one-half to one-fourth the time.
4. Employment rate for released project trainees averaged 89.4% for the contract period, with training-related replacements averaging 25%.
5. Success of the curriculum and program proved that persons with severe academic deficiencies can be included in institutional vocational training programs at the apprenticeship level.

Nelson, Pike Cornelius. *A Statistical Analysis of San Diego Summer Head Start Children on Seven Variables*. Dissertation, Colorado State College, 1967.

A comparative study of San Diego, California, Head Start Children on the basis of seven variables; and of these Head Start children with children in the general community.

A.1. The seven variables were I.Q., ethnic origin, military status, economic status, emotional appraisal, intellectual appraisal, and medical observations.
2. Comparison of Head Start children with general population on the basis of intelligence, military status, and ethnic origin.
3. The intellectual appraisal classification correlated with Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test scores.
4. Significant differences among Head Start children by ethnic origin and not by economic status.
5. Head Start children different from general population by ethnic origin.
6. Correlation between intellectual appraisal (.53) and Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.

Newman, Dorothy K. *The Negroes in the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation*. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 1511. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1966.

Analysis of the social and economic situation of Negroes, particularly in urban areas. Description of government programs which are aiding Negroes.

A.1. Most Negroes are city dwellers, living in densely populated areas where 90% or more of the population is Negro.
2. The ratio of non-white to white unemployment rates has remained consistently over 2.0.
3. Unemployment greatest for non-white teenagers.
4. Although enrollment in schools has been proportionate with population increases of non-white youths, the advantages of education are still limited.
5. In spite of employment gains for Negroes in professional and technical jobs, etc., expansion has not been proportionate to the expanding economy to change the over-all pattern of Negro employment.
6. Negro family incomes , which were 53% of white incomes in 1961-63, were 56% in 1964.
7. Other factors contributing to Negro economic insecurity are: lack of steady work; many Negro workers not being covered by collective bargaining agreement; minimum wage laws, and social security.
8. Poverty was present in about 40% of non-white families (as compared to 12% of whites) in 1964.
9. Almost one-fourth of all non-white families are headed by women.
10. Although 6 out of 10 non-white children lived in poor families in 1963, only 30% of non-white families with less than $3,000 income in 1959 received assistance from Aid to Families with Dependent Children in 1961.

A 11 Of Negro youth 16-21 years old, approximately 100,000 were employed or in training under government-initiated or supported programs in the spring of 1966.
12. Negroes in federal employment increased nine percent between 1961 and 1965.
13. 53% of Negro veterans took advantage of post-service education and various other programs, although more white than non-white veterans obtained a home, farm, or business loan.

Omati, O. Poverty and Affluence. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1966.

A report on a research project which focussed on the poverty of insufficiency rather than the poverty of inequality.

B.1. Poverty is a relative term, meaning different from time and place.
2. The United States are affluent enough to provide each family with subsistence income ($2,600 for 4) in 1960.
3. A poverty of underdog or parish class now developing rather than the mass poverty of the depression.
4. Poverty resulting from changes in employment demands, rise in mechanization.
5. The poor are out of economy due to lack of skills, therefore the rising economy won't help them.

C.1. Poor need help in developing their personal assets.

Orem, R.C. (Ed.) Montessori For the Disadvantaged. New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1967.

This book discusses the application of Montessori educational principles to, and their implications for the war on poverty, especially the Head Start Program.

C.1. Ordinary methods of education, usually middle-class oriented, fail with underprivileged children.
2. Montessori schools have been quite successful with these children.
3. Montessori's principle of prepared environment is particularly applicable to the disadvantaged child, as well as to middle- and upper-class children who suffer from developmental deprivation.
4. The prepared environment should be expanded so that the Head Start child learns to concentrate, develops motor skills, respects the rights of others, develops powers of reasoning, creativity, and ingenuity, as well as a positive image of himself.
5. Another relevant Montessori concept is that the child develops favourable attitudes toward work.
   a. In the Montessori school the child learns habits of order and work in an environment that meets his needs.
6. Built-in techniques develop language skills, in which the lower-class child is deficient.
7. The school should be linked with the home.
8. Other topics in the book include the Montessori teacher as a programmer; development, learning, and perception; and Montessori research projects.
9. Montessori is the most comprehensive model yet available for

pre-school education.

C.10. For the disadvantaged child, it is the only pedagogical system designed to meet his needs.

Ornati, Oscar A. Poverty, Affluence and Opportunity. In George A. Brager & Francis P. Purcell (Eds.) Community Action Against Poverty, New Haven, College and University Press, 1967.

Poverty in America is not only a characteristic of those who are economically deprived, but of those who possess certain specific personal, social and demographic characteristics.

A.1. Families which have the following combination of charactereistics have 3 out of 4 chances of earning less than $4,500 per year (an amount slightly more than what is generally regarded as minimally adequate):
   a. Non-white families headed by a female.
   b. Aged families living on a farm.
   c. Aged Negro families.
   d. Negro families living on a farm.
   e. Farm families headed by a female.

B.1. The ups and downs of the economy have little effect on the risk of poverty.
   2. Those who moved out of low-income levels between 1948 and 1960 generally did not have these characteristics.
   3. Thus poverty cannot be viewed as a mass phenomena which can be eliminated by the economic improvement of the total society.
   4. Restructuring of the labor market and employment is ineffectual since the bulk of the poor are outside the labor market.
   5. Changing social standards and a general upgrading in the requirements for participation in our society are more the cause of poverty than is automation.

C.1. Opportunities should be provided not by reconstruction of neighborhoods but by reconstruction of the personal patrimony with which the poor face the labor market outside their neighborhoods.
   2. Poverty in America can be removed by sustained efforts along the lines of education, training and re-training, civil rights, a universal old-age and survivors' insurance system, health insurance, and slum re-building.

Orshansky, Mollie. Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty. Social Security Bulletin, July 1965.

Description of a new index of Poverty.

A.1. By March 1964, 34.6 million in poverty.
   2. Aged most economic insecure of any age group.
   3. Children second in poverty risk.
      a. Families with children more prone to poverty-half of family members in poverty were children as opposed to 1/3 in families above poverty line.
   4. In female headed families children made up 60% of members in poor families compared to 27% in non-poor.
   5. The largest family, the larger the poverty risk for children.

A.6. Poverty not from joblessness but short-term jobs, low paid jobs and many dependents.

Identification of the high-poverty risk people can facilitate remedial programs.

Parham, T.J. Jim. The horrendous facts of poverty. Public Welfare, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 1968.

Discussion of three problems related to the culture of poverty and implications for public welfare.

B.1. Problems related to the culture of poverty are:
   a. The problem of presenting in a positive way the plight of the undeserving poor who are actual or potential aids to families with dependent children (AFDC) clients.
   b. The problem of raising money grants above bare existence levels.
   c. The problem of securing and holding manpower.

C.1. Five implications for public welfare:
   a. Strong need for improved and expanded efforts to interpret the life circumstances and behavior of welfare clients without becoming their apologists.
   b. Public welfare must inject its services at crucial stages into the lives of potential clients on some basis other than application for assistance.
   c. Constant interpretation (to the public) of the insidious consequences of current grant levels, finding ways to raise the level of money grants.
   d. Develop staff and volunteer programs in consumer education and home management.
   e. See how the existing manpower available for employment can be utilized. This involves opening up new careers for the poor through training and hiring them to serve as aides under professional supervision.

Parnice, Edward A. Formal Education and Culture Change: A Modern Apache Indian Community and Government Education Programs. Tuscon, The University of Arizona Press, 1968.

Education, when used to impose cultural change, can create serious conflicts in the minority society. An assessment of the 1959-1961 education program for Apaches on the San Carlos reservation.

A.1. Social conflict; economic deprivation, and cultural instability are problems in Indian education.
 2. Three factors were identified as contributing to educational problems of Apache teenagers. The factors are: community, family and school.
 3. Community: serious unemployment problems and poverty; little involvement of Apaches in operating the education program led to parental apathy and indifference.
 4. Family: welfare programs to supplement low incomes could have been improved by financial planning help. While the traditional system of family authority was breaking down, the tribal court discipline often proved damaging to teenagers.

A.5. School: inadequate solution of basic language problems.
  a. Serious deficiencies in teaching techniques, and teachers seldom understood the children's home environment.
  b. Boarding schools isolated Apaches fron non-Indians; they had low academic standards; and were not prepared to cope with the emotionally disturbed.
  c. Conflict of goals between retention of tribal identity and assimilation into Anglo-American life.
  d. In failing to see the positives of education, less educated Apaches directly influenced their children's thinking.

B.1. The program was unsuccessful in educating and integrating the children into the mainstream of American life.

Pavenstedt, Eleanor, M.D. (Ed.) The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

Description and discussion of 1955-1965 North Point (Boston) Project which was initiated to help nursery school children from disorganized poor families grow into productive members of society.

C.1. Multi-disciplinary approach. Two psychiatrists, a research psychologist, an educator, a sociologist, and a social worker, worked with 45 children.
  2. Children's families represented the hard-to-reach, multi-problem families found in all community agency case loads.
  3. Description of these children as they entered the nursery school, the author's understanding of their developmental lags and precocities, the measures devised to help them with their deficiencies, the changes observed, and barriers to change.
  4. Description of 13 families participating in the project.
  5. Anthropological survey of sociocultural environment.
  6. The children could become self-respecting individuals by intervening early and striving for total personality development.
  7. Far-reaching and social and economic changes needed in the lives of the families.
  8. Study of entire poverty population to determine whether the children are on a continuum between the normal development of the stable working class and the retarded development of the disorganized family. Or whether there are sub-groups between these two poles.
  9. Need to establish multiservice centers in the neighborhood.
  10. Collaboration of varied personnel working in slum areas required.

Pavenstedt, Eleanor, M.D. Review of Findings and Recommendations. In Eleanor Pavenstedt (Ed.) The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

Review of findings of North Point (Boston) Project requiring immediate action in terms of slum children and families, and anthropological findings.

C.1. Necessity of studying entire poverty population to determine:
  a. whether the children are on a continuum between the normal development of the stable working-class and the retarded and deviant development of the disorganized family;
  b. or whether there are sub-groups between these two poles, with

their own constellations of retardation, fixation, and deviance, and areas of normal and precocious development.

C.2. Radical social and economic changes necessary in the lives of the families.
3. Short-term effects are often of no lasting value.
4. Collaboration of various personnel (e.g. educators, politicians, city planners, welfare workers, etc.) to overcome confused goals and fragmented services.
5. Multi-service centers in the heart of poor neighborhoods.
6. Restructuring of existing health, social, welfare, and educational services.
7. Further research necessary.

Description of some ongoing projects and studies.

Pavenstedt, Eleanor, M.D. Overview of the North Point Project. In Eleanor Pavenstedt (Ed.) The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Low-Class Families. Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1967.

Report of the 1965-66 North Point (Boston) project studying the effects of early emotional deprivation on slum children.

Children tested and mental health work undertaken with them. Between 1960-1965 a demonstration project was undertaken to:

a. build on any achievements for adaptive functions helpful in middle-class schools,
b. dispel the fear and suspicion of authority figures and
c. to buttress the usual development of children between three and five.

A.1. Most children were found to have average potential.
2. Everyday functioning for many children was below the level attained on formal testing.
3. Deviant instability of test function in items involving language and thought.
4. Cognition process was literal, unimaginative and poorly organized.
5. Attempted mastery of fear through flight expressed through general evasiveness toward outside objects and people, was a common adaptation to environmental stimuli.

C.1. To minimize the effects of early emotional deprivation on adult traits, it is necessary to provide, at the earliest age, an environment with trustworthy responsive adults.

Pear, Arthur. Slim and None - The Poor's Two Chances. In Daniel Schreiber, (Ed.) Profile of the School Dropout. New York, Random House, 1967.

Programs are based on the premise that disadvantaged children are out of step and need reshaping and their teachers believe that their role is to repair the children.

B.1. Such programs reinforce the inequality of education and the humiliation of the children.
2. Children fall victim very early in our schools to the careless sorting and thus discriminating.
3. The schools become alienated from the disadvantaged for a number of reasons:
   a. Rules which have no logic or real rationale, such as those

concerning dress.

B.3. b. school materials lacking relevance to the children's background or immediate circumstances;
 c. parents' lack of power to pressure the school system;
 d. a schooling with no linkage to their own future;
 e. humuliating and degrading experience, unless one happens to be a brain or an athlete.
4. As currently constituted in the helping services, higher education provides little stimulating experience before a person is exposed to the actual pressure of the job.
5. Practice teaching and field experience are only minimally relevant to job experience.

C.1. Opening up the school to the student would bring dramatic changes in behavior and attitude.
2. Bringing the student into an active teacher role, making the classroom a cooperative venture, and allowing the student to progress through negotiable steps to a certified educator would be a welcome relief.
3. The new careers proposal, providing an alternative path to a credential, allows greater flexibility in the education process.

Pearl, Arthur. Education, Employment, and Civil Rights for Negro Youth. In William C. Kvarceus, John S. Gibson & Thomas J. Curtin (Eds.) Poverty, Education and Race Relations: Studies and Proposals. Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1967.

Provision of services to the poor adds to their humiliation. They must be given the opportunity to make a contribution to society and get paid for it.

B.1. Society robs the poor of their dignity through organized efforts to provide their services--evident in the attitudes of physicians, employment centers, and teachers toward the poor.
2. Homogeneous groupings in the schools should be discouraged because such a 'basic track' system militates against the poor and stigmatizes them as stupid.
3. Since disproportionately high numbers of Negro youths in urban slums are part of this basic track' system, they are given no marketable skills, and are denied an opportunity to make a contribution to society.

C.1. High school graduates and even dropouts can be employed as school aides and guidance assistants.
2. Use of indigenous non-professionals can change the attitudinal climate of the schools, since they can provide students with climate of the models for identification.
3. Jobs be redefined to meet the skills of people, thereby giving them an opportunity to feel needed.
4. The denial of dignity by imposed authority can be replaced by help from empathetic persons within the community.
5. Hiring the poor can make meaningful the civil rights advances of the past decade, for now the poor will be able to afford them.

Pearl, Arthur. New Careers: One Solution to Poverty, Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts. Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan - Wayne State University, Vol. 2, No. 5, 1967.

An overview of the 'New Careers' proposal which advances the idea that domestic problems of the United States stem from inadequate organization of work and education.

C.1. Instead of causing shortage of jobs, every technological change that reduces the work in mechanical service and products producing industries makes possible a greater investment of manpower in human service.

2. Human services (teachers, doctors, social workers, etc.) provide enormous potential for development of new careers as they are in vast under-supply.
3. Health, education, welfare, etc. have become the exclusive preserves of the relatively affluent since college education is mandatory for entry into these.
4. The poor are denied education, are herded into tracks which do not prepare for college, and are provided fewer gratifications than are provided the advantaged.
5. Maximize options available to individuals e.g. transfer from one field to another would be really relatively easy.
6. Every person is assured of at least horizontal mobility (annual increments of salary) as well as the opportunity for vertical mobility.
7. Education should establish a series of landings to allow for a wider range of entry positions in the professions.
8. By making entry positions available to every segment of the population, it proposes increase in the number of jobs.
9. Seeks to rectify conditions fostering alienation in schools where what is taught has little relevance to the life experiences of the children of the poor.
10. Appeals to varied groups like the poor, the minorities, the stable working class, etc.
11. Change in the nature of the service by the creation of more entry positions not requiring college diplomas or other specialized education.
12. To demonstrate that impoverished, under-educated, alienated populations would be attracted to and would succeed in human service careers.
13. Growing number of non-professionals working with professionals in health, education and welfare.
14. Perceptible but very slow change in higher education to accommodate this change in the organization of service.
15. Need to assure that the new systems do not create a new form of inequality by clogging the upward mobility channels of the poor.

Discussion of various other aspects of 'New Careers'.

Peck, Sidney M. The economic situation of Negro labor. In Julius Jacobsen, (Ed.) The Negro and the American Labor Movement. Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1968.

The 1960's have witnessed the emergence of a new laboring class, largely economically exploited Negroes, outside the labor movement and the main economy. The same technological processes that have impoverished rural landholders and caused massive migration to cities wreak havoc on the industrial workers of the ghetto.

B.1. Victory in the war against poverty necessitates a transformation of the national power structure and the disengagement of military power abroad.
  2. Because of rapid automation in industry, this newly created laboring class is marked by unemployment, under-employment, and unemployability.
  3. Archaic union structures have failed to adapt to the new social environment of cybernation technology.
  4. Radical politics and anarchic disturbances characterize the behavior of unwanted workers relegated to ghettos in the metropolitan center.
  5. Class conscious organizational links between splintered working-class segments become more probable as the dynamic within the system becomes increasingly obvious in its social and economic effects.

Pelosi, John William. A Study of the Effects of Examiner Race, Sex, and Style on Test Responses of Negro Examinees. Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va., 1968.

Eight tests administered to 96 male Negroes in order to determine the effect of examiner race, style, sex, or the interaction between these factors on test performance.

A.1. None of the examiner attributes, or the interaction between them was significant on seven of the tests.
  2. Analysis of data from the IPAT Culture Fair Intelligence Test showed that cold treatment by male Negro examiners resulted in higher scores than those obtained when tested by female Negro examiners.
  3. Subjects tested by female white examiners performed higher than those tested by male white examiners.
  4. On all but one sub-test, subjects tested by white examiners scored slightly higher than subjects treated warmly on all but one test.

B.1. These findings contradict the results of previous research which suggested inadvertent negative bias due to white examiners.

Pettigrew, T.F. Negro American Intelligence: A New Look at Old Controversy. In F.W. Lanning, & W.O. Mang (Eds.) Basic Education for the Disadvantaged Adult, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1966.

Research review.

B. Negroes achieve lower scores on I.Q. tests.
  1. Not due to genetic factors.

B.2. Intelligence is not genetically fixed.
3. Man's intelligence falls short of genetic potential.
4. Intelligence is determined by environmental factors.
  a. Inadequate diet of mother may impair fetus's potential intelligence.
  b. environment develops 'set to learn' in child;
  c. deprived environment decreases I.Q. (twins and children of larger families have lower I.Q. due to less parental attention);
  d. low expectations of whites,
5. Enriched environment will raise I.Q.'s; we do not know what specific enrichment is most effective.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. Race and Equal Educational Opportunity. *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 38, No. 1, Winter 1968.

Discusses the necessity of integrated rather than desegregated schools in view of the Coleman Report finding that children of all backgrounds do better in middle-class schools, especially in the later grades where the full force of peer group influence is felt.

A.1. Four other studies using measures and samples different from Coleman support the above finding.
2. Coleman's social class finding has important racial implications for only one-fourth of Negro Americans are middle-class.
3. Thus extensive desegregation necessary to provide Negro children with middle-class school settings.
4. Difference between desegregation and integration. Former is a racial mix only whereas latter is racial mix with interracial acceptance.
5. The necessity of integrated schools for Negro and white children emphasized by Coleman Report.
6. Dynamics of interracial classroom proposed by the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey data examined by author.
7. Two processes of fate control and social evaluation discussed in detail.
B.1. Even the most academically successful compensatory program in ghetto schools cannot rival genuine integration.

Piore, Michael J. *Negro Workers in the Mississippi delta: Problems of Displacement and Adjustment*. Presented at 20th Annual Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association, Washington D.C., 1967.

The role of the Negro labor force in the economy of the Mississippi Delta and the problems of displacement and adjustment faced by it.

B.1. Almost complete elimination of the Negro's role in the economy
  a. In two successive years, spring seasonal employment reduced by half.
  b. A long term decline in farm operators.
2. Agricultural displacement due to shift from cotton to less labor-intensive production.
3. Current efforts to solve the economic problems of Negroes are confined to training.
4. No jobs for program graduates, and projection shows insufficient growth rates for such jobs.

B.5. Without opportunities, training programs degenerate into welfare programs.
6. White control over the programs causes them to be used to reward and punish people for political activity.
7. Negro trainees are assigned menial and humiliating jobs where instructors are tyrannical and abusive.
8. Firms which have tried to absorb Negro workers have faced discipline and turnover problems.
9. Negro leaders believe that the displacements are a white conspiracy to force out-migration and thus avoid the threat of integration and Negro political power.
10. Some hopeful signs that the Negro middle-class, previously hesitant to risk their hard-earned status, are beginning to opt for cooperative business ventures.
11. On the whole, very little of the constructive action attempted by Negro leadership has paid off and the promises of Washington have proved empty.
12. Rising frustration leads increasingly to the promise of riots.
13. White Mississippi hopes that by the time of real crisis most of the Negroes will have gone North.

Piven, Frances. Resident Participation in Community-Action Programs: An Overview. In George A. Brager & Francis P. Purcell (Eds.) Community Action Against Poverty, New Haven: College & University Press, 1967.

A discussion of the general organizational life of the lower-income community and ways to increase their participation in community action programs.

B. New objectives and strategies associated with resident participation in anti-poverty projects are discussed. Three interrelated objectives are:
1. The participation of low-income people in a variety of local associations.
2. Increasing the effective influence of low-income people on the policies and practices of institutions serving the low-income community.
3. Establishing the conditions for effective individual and family life by changing the social context of individual behavior.

C. Proposals for possible program strategies and modes of organizational participation in community action projects are as follows:
1. Providing concrete services, such as help in processing housing complaints.
2. Helping existing low-income organizations with staff and facilities.
3. Professional staff who serve as leaders or potential leaders should be sought among the people.
4. Affiliation with socially contiguous ethnic, religious, occupational, or residential groups.
5. Participation in social protests.

There are three organizational forms for participation: The policy-making structures--ordinarily the Board--either on the city-wide or local level; non-professional staff; and members of active constituent groups.

Podell, Lawrence. Families on Welfare in New York City, Preliminary Report No. 3, Mother's Education and Employment, Center for Social Research, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1967.

A survey of mothers on public assistance to determine the extent of their schooling, attitudes toward school, work experience, preferences, and plans regarding employment.

A.1. Most of the mothers attended high school, and one in six were graduates.
2. Another one in six had not gone beyond the fourth grade; these tended to be older women and those who emigrated as adults, especially from rural communities.
3. Most desired more schooling, particularly those who had the least.
4. Eight in ten had some employment experience, usually prior to the birth of their first child but nearly half worked afterwards.
5. Seven in ten preferred to work for pay rather than stay home.
6. Six in ten with pre-school children would work if suitable day-care facilities were available.
7. Two-thirds planned to work in the future; especially those with more education.

C.1. Cautious application of the findings of the survey to the present, since it was taken in April 1966 when 550,000 people were on welfare rolls. There was a 21% increase in the next one year.

Podell, Lawrence. Women, With and Without Husbands, on Welfare. Families on Welfare in New York City, Preliminary Report No. 1. Center for Social Research, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1967.

A survey of the characteristics of women--with and without husbands--who were on welfare rolls in April 1966. A sample of families was selected for purposes of this study.

A.1. More than one quarter of the mothers of families on welfare were living with their husbands.
2. More than 40% were without resident spouses due to desertion, and 10% due to divorce or death.
3. 20% were unmarried.
4. Women living with their husbands were more likely to have migrated to New York as adults, to have been reared by both parents in large families in rural communities, and to have had little schooling.
5. Youthful unmarried mothers were more likely to have been reared in New York City by the mothers only, to have become pregnant as minors, and to have been high school graduates
6. Separation usually occurred after the family began receiving welfare.
7. The occupations of welfare husbands tended to be of higher status than those of resident husbands.

Podell, Lawrence. Living conditions in the households. Families on Welfare in New York City. Preliminary Report No. 2. Center for Social Research, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1967.

A.1. Data from an April 1966 sample of welfare clients show that mothers were the only adults in most welfare families; fathers were present in less than 30% of the families.
2. Two-thirds of the families had three or more children and two-thirds had pre-school children.
3. Only 11% of the publicly assisted families lived in public housing.
4. Rats and hallway garbage were found in a third of the buildings housing welfare families.
5. A third of the publicly assisted households averaged more than one and a half persons per room.
6. The highest rents per room were paid in households where there were the most persons per room.
7. About nine out of ten families on welfare had a clock, a TV set and/or radio.
8. One-fourth of the welfare families had a telephone, and three in ten had a washing machine and/or sewing machine.
C.1. Caution should be exercised in applying these findings to the present, since April 1966, 550,000 people were on the welfare rolls; in April 1967 the figure was about 665,000.

Polk, Kenneth, Urban social areas and delinquency. Social Problems, Vol. 14, No. 3, Winter 1967.

Failure to establish meaningful relationships between the characteristics of urban areas and the ecological distribution of delinquency results from the application of inappropriate methods and from lack of theoretical precision in specifying how economic characteristics relate to patterns of delinquency.

Data came from 1960 court records of male juveniles in Portland, Oregon.

A.1. Ecological studies do not show existing economic status differentials.
2. Though class is an important variable in the social space diagram, the complexity cannot be summarized in one simple coefficient.
3. The study also demonstrates the need for logical precision of theoretical constructs.
4. If class-linked theories are to be expressed so that their implications can be seen in a specific urban structure more than simple economic characteristics will have to be specified.

Powledge, Fred. To Change a Child: A Report on the Institute for Developmental Studies. Published in co-operation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith by Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1967.

Description and discussion of differences between the orientation of the disadvantaged child and of the school in which he studies; and ways to eliminate this difference through research, application and evaluation. The book discusses the program of the Institute of Developmental Studies, a division of the Department of Psychiatry of the New York Medical College and an affiliate of the New York University School of Education.

C.1. Emphasizes the need to expose the disadvantaged child to the middle-class attributes lacking in his home environment.
2. Schools should be motivated to recognize that the disadvantaged child has attributes of his own which deserve respect and are capable of increasing the child's interest in the educational process.
3. Sense of identity in the children should be created by frequent use of names.
4. Field-trips, role-playing games, and extensive use of realia also play a large part in the program.
5. Although this intervention program was successful, it is difficult to determine its long term positive effects.

Price, Daniel O. Educational differentials between Negroes and whites in the South. Presented at 1967 Meeting of the Population Association of America, Inc., 1967, Cincinnati. Abstracted in Population Index, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1967.

A study of the differences between Southern whites and non-whites in median years of school completed. Levels of education examined in eleven states by age and sex as well as by urban and rural farm residence. Differences in levels of education also examined by cohorts.

A.1. The differential between whites, with high levels of education, and non-whites has increased in 7 of the 11 states studied between 1950 and 1960.
2. Only 4 states showed an increase between 1940 and 1950.
3. Each state has some cohorts in which the educational gap had widened, but increasing educational differential was more prevalent in rural-farm areas, and more prominent among males than among females.
4. According to a recent census report, since 1955 the proportion of non-whites aged 18-24 who are enrolled in school has been falling further behind the proportion of whites aged 18-24 who are enrolled in school. This trend will lead to increasing disproportions of whites and non-whites with college degrees.

B.1. The educational gap can be expected to decrease in Southern urban areas.
2. In rural-ram areas each cohort is starting with a larger educational differntial that tends to increase with increasing age, so that the educational gap can be expected to continue to increase.
3. The higher out-migration rates of better educated non-whites contributes to the increasing educational differential between whites and non-whites.

C.1. The gap in educational levels between whites and non-whites must be reduced, and eventually eliminated to enable the non-whites to fulfill their economic expectations.

Protheroe, Donald Wesley. The Language used by Children of Contrasting Socio-Economic Groups in Tasks Related to Concept Formation. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967.

The language of the lower-class child is capable of handling all of the referents and meaning of the school-related tasks. But since their cultural background is different, their language is different.

A.1. The study challenges the assumption of previous language studies which concluded that the language of the lower-class was not suitable for establishing ideas and relationships.
2. Ten second-grade boys each from lower-class and middle-class were selected.
3. Use of structured individual interviews.
4. Their language tape-recorded as they worked with concepts of science using materials and methods that might be used in any school.
5. Results:
    a. Symbolic representations of lower-class child not lacking in quantity or quality of structure.
    b. His language capable of handling all of the referents and meaning of the school-related tasks.

B.1. Language difference between the two groups does not indicate deficiency of one and superiority of the other.
2. It is a minor divergence of one from an assumed standard called Standard American English.
3. The non-linguistic categories upon which the language of the lower-class is based may not match those upon which the standard is based.
4. His interpretation of reality, which is merely different, is labelled deficient.

Radin, Norma. Some Impediments to the Education of the Disadvantaged Children, Children, Vol. 15, No. 5, 1968.

The ineffectiveness of the schools in educating children of low socio-economic status can be explained in terms of four types of factors: cultural factors, organizational factors, primary group or family, and the individual child.

B.1. Five features of our culture affect the relevance of our educational system to slum children.
    a. Progressively less employment for the unskilled.
    b. With the value placed on goal-oriented activities, the artistic child may have trouble in school.
    c. Poverty sub-culture assigns greater value to toughness than to cognitive abilities and attributes success to luck rather than to work.
    d. Deprivation leads to self-rejection, which is closely related to poor academic performance.
    e. The racist nature of our society has an additional detrimental effect on Negro children.
2. As to organizational factors, the demands of the school system on the child are not clearly spelled out but are communicated by parents.

B.2. a. Slum parents may not understand the demands of the student role.
b. Inability of the disadvantaged child to use the complex language structure necessary for communication.
c. Traditional teacher orientation impedes educational research.
d. Lack of linkages between school administration and community.
e. Faulty interpersonal relations between teacher and child.
3. Lack of role models for circulation in families of disadvantaged children.
a. Mothers do not foster internal control; they rely on specific rules rather than on principles in teaching their children.
b. The developing of intellectual ability, which is derived from the interaction of hereditary characteristics with the environment, is hampered by stimulating environment.
4. Disadvantaged children learn skills which interfere with academic achievement, such as tuning out sounds and words, and also the expression of emotions in movement rather than in words.
C.1. Massive attack on all factors is needed.
2. Channels should be opened for the few children who in any case could not advance educationally.

Rainwater, Lee. An open letter on white justice and the riots. Transaction, Vol. 4, No. 9, 1967.

The causes of riots in the Negro ghettos are varied--the direct cause being economic marginality.

B.1. A deep caste system in our society has created a situation in which most Negroes cannot achieve an average American standard of living. Even those who come close to such a standard still feel a disability because of their confinement to a ghetto community.
2. According to the rioters, poverty or near poverty prevents their achieving a decent life.
3. They are unable to acquire the standard package for American economic rights due to economic exclusion.
4. Inability to earn more affects the respect of their own family members, community members, and society at large.
C.1. No community action programs will prevent riots if their cause is economic marginality.
2. Incomes close to the American average should be provided.
3. Important to create jobs, especially for the unskilled, and to have a guaranteed minimum income plan.

Ranstood, H. Edward. Isolation, Powerlessness, and Violence: A Study of Attitudes and Participation in the Watts Riot. American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 73, No. 5, 1968.

An experiment testing the hypothesis that isolated individuals are more prone to extremism and the relationship between isolation, powerlessness and dissatisfaction, on the one hand, and violence on the other.
312 Negro household heads (male) between the ages of 18-65 were interviewed by Negroes shortly after the Watts Riots. They lived in three areas in Los Angeles--a middle-class, integrated area, and the two lower-class, segregated communities of Watts and South Central.

A.1. Data analysis indicates that racial isolation is associated with a willingness to use violence under two conditions:
  a. when isolated individuals feel a sense of powerlessness in the society;
  b. when they are dissatisfied with their treatment as Negroes.
2. Ideal types of the most and least violence prone are developed from the cumulative affects of isolation, powerlessness and dissatisfaction.
  a. those who keenly feel all three are an extremely volative group with 65% willing to use violence.
3. Distinction drawn between the non-violent civil rights activists and the violence-prone group in the study.
  a. Participants in organized civil rights protests are middle-class, optimistic about equal rights and in communication with the white majority.
  b. Whereas most participants in the study saw little hope for improvement through organized protest.

B.1. For them, violence is a way to communicate with the whites.

Raven-Hansen, Peter. The Disappearing Unemployables, Chicago Magazine, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1968.

Description and discussion on some private sector programs in training and employing the hard-core unemployed in Chicago.

C.1. Double E program (Employment-Education) provides job responsibilities, salary and school credits:
  a. Of the 1,547 dropouts enrolled since 1961, 740 have either graduated or are still with the program.
  b. Of the graduates only a quarter remain unemployed and out of school.
2. National Association of Manufacturers has developed a basic program called MIND (Methods of Intellectual Development) for use in an industrial environment.
3. But most of the basic educational training of unemployables is being done by public agencies.
4. Adult education programs, though extensive, reach but 2% of people who have not finished high school.
5. Recruitment (of trainees) biggest problem.
6. Door-to-door survey of 'human resources' undertaken in 1965-66 yielding information on employment situation of all adults over 16 years in the target areas.
7. 22,000 people involved in job training programs with private industry in Chicago.
8. Council of all involved public and private agencies and industry to operate an early warning system for reporting of planned relocations or automation envisaged.

Rein, M. & Miller, S.M. Poverty Policy and Purpose: The Axis of Choice. Poverty and Human Relations Abstracts, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1966. Also in Leonard Goodman (Ed.) Economic Progress and Social Welfare, New York, Columbia University Press, 1966.

Thesis: Although we try to avoid a discussion of values regarding poverty, values do permeate analyses.

B.1. Characterization of poor--definition of poverty determined by values.
2. Conceptualization of poverty--factors to be included reflect values.
3. Time period and resulting resource requirements.
4. Multiplicity of goals--social control, social rights, equality, etc. associated with poverty programs.
5. Consumption and investment.
6. Criterion for effectiveness of programs.
7. Feasability, with two dimensions:
    a. acceptability--community support regardless of effectiveness,
    b. coherence--all programs fitting together.

We should specify implications, underlying values, and base plans upon them.

Rhodes, Lewis. Dropouts and the Socio-Economic Composition of Schools in a Metropolitan System, Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 49, No. 2, September 1968.

Relationship between dropout rates and socio-economic level of the students in five contexts: middle and upper, crosscut, lower, Negro and urban fringe.

Data gathered from questionnaires administered to 6,779 students aged 16 and over in the junior and senior high schools of Davidson County, Tennessee.

A.1. Relationship between school context and chances of leaving school before graduation.
2. During the decade between 6 and 16, the lower-status pupil in the lower-status school is alienated from educational endeavors by both personal and system inadequacies.
3. The lower context rate is three and one-half times greater than the rate for the middle-upper context when rates are adjusted for all test variables simultaneously.
4. The adjustment of context rates by occupational level of family results in reduction in dropout chances in the Negro content and increase in the middle-upper context. In these contents the effect is partially a family effect.
5. In other contexts there is interaction with occupational level of family in such a way that the family effect cancels out the context effect in the case of high occupation subjects in the lower content.
6. Adjustment by intelligence quotient also affects the dropout rates for middle-upper and Negro contexts.
7. The rates for Negroes are lowered while the rates for the higher context are raised.
8. The high-status schools provide the facilities and stimulation to nurture high ability, which in turn increases school retention.
9. Adjustment of context dropout rates by motivation items affects the lower context rate but not the other rates.
10. In the Negro and urban-fringe contexts, the chances that a pupil from a low-occupation family with low I.Q. or reading test score will drop out is only slightly higher than that for all pupils in the system.

Riessman, Frank. Blueprint for the Disadvantaged. New York, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Outline of a program analyzing the goals involved in educating the disadvantaged by understanding and empathizing with the disadvantaged pupil and his world; and by exploring ways in which the teacher can best fulfill his role.

B.1. All children want to learn but somehow they become unmotivated.
  2. The program concentrates on the student's attributes.
    a. It aims to enable him to overcome his deficits by assisting the teachers to develop approaches especially suited to the strengths of disadvantaged youngsters.
  3. Large scale attempts at improvement in the learning of disadvantaged children have failed in the past because most of the previous programs were:
    a. unrelated to each other;
    b. they affected deficits, and
    c. neglected to focus on the teacher as the key to the revolution in education.

C.1. Changes in the curriculum are suggested.
  2. Reorganization of educational policy to take into account previous mistakes.
  3. Necessity to build an advanced educational system within the integrated network to draw and hold reluctant parents.
  4. Planning of a revolutionary breakthrough as a first step toward revitalizing our public schools and winning back the middle classes who have fled to private schools.

Riessman, F. It's Time for Moonshot in Education. Bronx, New York, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, 1965.

C.1. Urges the adoptation of non-professionals, from the ranks of the poor, to aid teachers, especially males.
    a. A communication between non-professionals and disadvantaged pupils would be in a common language.
  2. We should recognize and utilize the strengths (style, vitality, rich feeling, formetaphore) if disadvantaged and build Teaching Techniques based upon these objectives.
    a. 'Dialect game'--learn standard English like a foreign language comparing standard words an- dialect words.
    b. 'Helper principle'--middle-class children may also benefit from helping lower-class children in catching up.
    c. Role playing suggested (but not how, or for what).
    d. Other suggestions: In-service training for teachers, new urban readers, etc.; teaching machines; new administrative procedures, team teaching; multiple periods; non-graded classes; intensive extra school programs; parent-teacher groups.

Riessman, F. The New Anti-poverty Ideology, Poverty and Human Resources Abstract, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1966.

C. He urges meaningful participation of the poor in education etc., and the creation of careers for the poor instead of jobs, rights, and direct participation instead of representation. Among other things, he recommends use of the poor in non-professional positions in schools etc. to take over the non-professional tasks of the professionals.

Riessman, F. Helping the Disadvantaged Pupil to Learn More Easily. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966.

A program for improving the education of the disadvantaged through the schools.

B.1. Mental style of disadvantaged.
  a. Slowness, one track and physical learning, and untapped creativity are strengths requiring development
  b. Lower class children are more flexible and visual with language--important aspects of creativity need to find means to develop high verbal facility.
  c. Stop teaching by I.Q. tests and place stress on action as do the children.

C.1. Emphasize the positive aspects of the lower class culture in order to correct his weaknesses.
  2. Teachers should be trained 'in-service' to see effective teachers.
  3. Teachers should have knowledge of lower class culture.
  4. Parental involvement in school necessary for success of pupils. Encourage this through non-professional liaison between parent and school.
  5. Practices which have 'proven worthwhile'.
    a. Extend school day to include field trips, remedial classes, and guidance.
    b. Use of flexible non-graded grouping in grade school.
    c. Varying size of classes throughout the day in accommodating teacher's talents and children's needs.
    d. Alter lengths of periods to provide short periods in small groups in skill areas.
    e. Use students as teachers, helpers and tutors.
    f. Use 'hip' language in teaching reading as a transitional technique.
    g. Use groupings within classes for only part of the day.

Reissman, F. Some additions to the Moynihan Report. Bronx, New York, Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services, 1966.

C.1. Emphasize the positive rather than negative.
  2. Modify schools to utilize strengths of Negro family structure rather than attempt to reorganize the family.
  3. More male oriented schools needed.

Rickman, Geraldine. Educational Motivation of the Poor Through Group Counseling, Presented at the Western Psychological Association Convention, San Diego State College, San Diego, California, 1968.

B.1. Group counseling motivates the disadvantaged to attain an education.
  2. Provides an opportunity to express deep-seated concerns and to criticize those forces that have deprived them.

B.3. Also removes emotional barriers and enables participants to become involved in the social process.
  4. Through group counseling, positive results are obtained at all levels of education.
  5. On the higher level, those students whose progress is most notable are disadvantaged.
  6. The group provides support, so that participants do not fear reprisal.
  7. It reinforces participants' strengths and assets.

Rioux, J. William. The Disadvantaged Child in School. In Jerome Hellmuth (Ed.) *Disadvantaged Child*, Vol. 1. Special Child Publication, Seattle Seguin School, Inc., Seattle, Washington, 1967.

The image of the schools projected in depressed areas is a reflection of the attitudes of administrators and teachers. Change of image in the school is a necessity. This can be achieved by attacking the common problems of the community and by forging a closer link between various community agencies.

B.1. The image of the schools and school institutions which do not recognize the needs of the poor child.
  2. This image is a psychological barrier for the poor child.
  3. The standardized tests are among some of the issues which hold back progress.
  4. The programs like Head Start are among those issues which shape the direction of progress.
  5. Public school alone will not help the deprived child in a lasting way.
  6. Present emphasis on remediation implies that the fault or deficiency rests with the child and his family rather than with the school.
C.1. New operating styles in education are a necessity to modify the influence of deprivation through skillful use of talents and resources.
  2. a. There must be closer links among community agencies.
     b. Various resources such as education, health, welfare, legal and housing must be pooled together to help solve common problems.
  3. Time, energy and additional personnel are required for concentrated services approach.
  4. Teachers must be vocal about the needs of the deprived child so that program emphasis and commitment will attack the handicaps of the poor and develop their strength.
  5. A person with full-time responsibility to know about application deadlines, program emphasis, guidelines, contact personnel, budget and reporting requirements, etc., is a necessity in most school systems.

Roach, J.L. & Gursslin, O.R. An evaluation of the concept 'culture of poverty'. *Social Forces*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 1967.

A discussion of the faults in the use of the concept of culture of poverty. Major faults being in failure to distinguish between descriptions and causation conceptions of a culture of poverty.

Some wrongly conclude that the traits of the poor are causes of the traits of the poor.

Culture implies a strong normative system, which is non-existent in the poor.
Characteristic behavior of poor a function of lack of resources.
Concept should be used with caution.

Roderiquez, Armando M. Speak Up, Chicano. American Education, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1968.

This report results from the author's visit to 17 Mexican-American communities in the Southwest to learn what the people want and need and in what priority.

B.1. Although the federal government is seeking to assist these people, there is a spirit among the young people in these communities and an unwillingness to accept the status quo.
2. Major obstacles remain in the way of chicano's progress toward educational equality in spite of various programs which have been introduced to meet his special needs, for example, creation of specialized educational programs, linguistic techniques, etc.
3. Shortage of teachers who are aware of their cultural background, who recognize their language as an asset, and who are therefore qualified to cope with the situation of the Chicanos.
4. Lack of well-oriented curriculums.
5. There was no school district whose curriculum correlated with the needs of Mexican-Americans from kindergarten through high school.
6. Lack of models of successful American-Mexicans that can be emulated is another obstacle to the Chicano's educational success.
7. In the near future the Mexican-American will become a more productive member of society, and his cultural and linguistic heritage will be turned to good use.
8. The Chicano will do what is necessary in his fight for equality.

Rodman, Hyman & Voydanoff, Patricia. Lower class attitudes toward 'deviant actions': A comparison of cultural, class, and racial groups. Merrill-Palmer Institute, December 1967.

Report on educational aspirations, and attitudes toward non-legal marriage and illegitimate childbirth based on data in Detroit. Some cross-cultural comparisons between Detroit and Trinidad and cross-sex and interracial comparisons are also presented.

A.1. Social class is inversely related to the 'value stretch', (i.e., to the acceptance of both legal marriage and the non-legal marital union and to the acceptance of children born in and out of marriage.)
2. The pressure for a group to adhere to convention is inversely related to that group's normative acceptance of deviant behavior.
3. A greater proportion of individuals respond favorably to deviant behavior on a normative than on a preferential question
4. Social class is inversely related to an individual's 'range of aspirations'.

B.1. The findings have implications with respect to social mobility and the potential for adherence to middle class values.

2. The lower class preference for legal marriage and legitimate childbirth and the high peak in the range of educational aspirations indicates values consistent with middle class values.

3. These patterns should facilitate social mobility.

Roger, John. Teacher and Student Attitude Interactions and their Effects in a Program for the Culturally Deprived. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967.

Program highlights the role of the teacher in educating the culturally deprived students.

A.1. One-year program designed specifically to measure relationships between teachers and culturally deprived pupils and resultant changes in their attitudes.

2. Major findings were that these pupils differed from the general population in so far as their need to achieve and need for affiliation were below the norm in all grades. Need to influence was above the norm in grade four and just below in grades five and six.

3. a. Pupils were eager to learn but incapable of making this known in an acceptable manner.

b. They had high need to achieve, high motivation, and a high regard for their teacher.

4. Disparity between how the pupil perceived his own self-concept and how the teacher felt he perceived it.

a. The teacher was likely to relate behavior and achievement with self-concept while the pupil did not view these as related.

B.1. These and other differences were indicative of the communication problem existing in this program for the culturally deprived.

Rosen, Alex. The Deepening Crisis in Intergroup Relations. The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1965.

America's Negro and white communities are increasingly alienated. Effective strategies in intergroup relations are needed. The paper considers integration versus desegregation, anti-poverty tactics, and the uses of power.

B.1. Urbanization and rapid social change are partly responsible for the increasing distrust and alienation which separates Black and white communities.

2. In spite of becoming Northern and urban and making relative gains in education and other fields, Negroes still suffer relative deprivation.

3. Two strong reactions emanate from their gains coupled with their continuing repression:

a. Hostility--a personal reaction characterized by outbursts of violence with separatist orientation.

b. Militancy--basically an integrative, rational drive to achieve social justice.

4. The public-supported by some professionals--has tended to

to confuse desegregation in schools with integration.

B.5. Integration involves unlearning prejudices and building understanding and mutual respect once physical desegregation has been achieved.

6. The recognition by civil rights workers that poverty and lack of jobs are fundamental social and economic problems is commendable.

C.1. Tactics like rent strikes which will achieve power along with lobbying, voter registration, ghetto organization, etc., are being adopted by Negroes, by professionals in widespread intergroup relations, and by social work and welfare agencies.

2. Practitioners in intergroup relations should strive to make themselves professional: basing their actions on a body of knowledge which they use with technical competence and which they exercise on behalf of their clients rather than for their agencies.

Rosen, Sumber M. Better Mousetraps: Reflections on economic development in the ghetto. New York, New Careers Development Center, New York University, 1968.

Spokesmen for civil rights and Black Power organizations look increasingly to economic development to improve the welfare of Negroes. Successful development ventures do not mean that the ghetto can achieve economic self-sufficiency. Rather, economic development in the ghetto is part of a larger strategy for transforming the major social institutions. To accomplish this, federal funds and legislation are needed.

C.1. Alliances must be formed among those outside and inside the ghetto who have a stake in the success of these new ventures.

2. Thereafter, ghetto institutions will develop the innovative process which lays the basis for success in the collective-purchasing market represented by local, state, and federal government.

3. This success in turn makes possible the raising of large-scale investment capital for the development of ghetto based social institutions which will combine profit for their owners with service to the community.

Rosenthal, Robert & Jacobson, Leonore. The Disadvantaged Child. Pygmalion in the Classroom, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

A discussion of the relationship between teacher expectations and achievement of culturally deprived children.
7th grade students in two junior high schools in depressed areas of different cities were selected as subjects. Two classes with average I.Q. and comparable achievement test scores were selected in each school.

A.1. Evidence presented in this chapter to show that teachers do not expect disadvantaged children to learn.

2. Clifford Pitt showed in 1965 that I.Q. scores affect teacher expectation which in turn affect performance.

3. Charles Flowers used fictitious ability groupings in 1966 to show the effects of teacher expectations on student performance.

A.4. In each school one of these matched pairs of classes was arbitrarily labelled as top group in the school. Teachers were not informed of the arbitrariness of labelling.
  5. The experimental group performed better in reading and arithmetic than the control group (at the end of the year), although there were no differences in I.Q.
  6. Results were reversed in the other school.
C.1. Flowers' evidence supports the hypothesis of educational self-fulfilling prophecies.

Rosenthal, Robert & Jacobson, Leonore F. Education for the Poor: The Effects of Teacher Expectations, Current, No. 97, 1968. See also: Rosenthal, R. & Jacobson, L. The Oak School Experi [illegible] Pygmalion in the Classroom, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Description of an experiment designed to test the proposition that those children from whom the teacher expects greater intellectual growth will show such growth.
Conducted at Oak School, which is located in a low income neighborhood of San Francisco, in May 1964, on each child from kindergarten through fifth grade.

A.1. In September each teacher was given the names of five children in her class who were designated as potential academic spurters, supposedly on the basis of test scores.
  2. Unknown to the teacher, these children were chosen at random.
  3. The same test given four months after school had started, at the end of the school year, and in May of the following year.
  4. The results indicated that children from whom teachers expected greater intellectual gains showed such gains; however, gains were not uniform across the grades.
B.1. The teacher communicates high expectations to the child and helps improve his self-concept, motivation and his cognitive skills.
C.1. More attention in educational research should be focussed on the teacher.
  2. If it could be learned how she is able to improve the performance of her pupils without formal changes in her teaching methods, other teachers could be taught to do the same.

Rossi, Peter H. et al. Between White and Black: The Faces of American Institutions in the Ghetto. Department of Social Relations, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., 1968.

A study examining the image of Negroes held by policemen, educators, social workers, merchants, political party workers, and employers in 15 cities of the United States.

A.1. Employers see them as not qualified by preparation or experience for good jobs.
  2. Merchants were most unsympathetic to the plight of the ghetto Negro of any occupational group. They treat Negro customers less well than white customers.
  3. a. Educators see education in the ghetto as a hard task of motivating students of poor preparation and inadequate community backing to achieve their potentials.

A.3. b. Most see their schools as adequate but their success hampered by the material they have to work with.
4. Policemen, in the predominantly Negro areas, perceive residents as basically hostile. Their in-group solidarity with their colleagues isolates them from the residents increasing the already existing hostility.
5. Social workers are more concerned with the problem yet remain inactive in the civil rights movement.
6. Political party workers were more strongly pro-civil rights than any occupational group. Their criticism of white society was harsher and were less inclined to see progress being made by their cities in the struggle for equality.
7. a. The tenor of interviews with the six groups was one of optimistic denial.
   b. There are problems. Progress has been made, but some feel that Negroes want too much too fast.

Rutledge, Aaron L. & Gass, Gertrude Zemon. Nineteen Negro Men, San Francisco, Jessey-Bass Inc., 1967.

The role of the psychological support in a re-training program for 19 Negro men who had never been successfully employed. These men were trained to be practical nurses in Detroit.

A.1. Of the 13 men who completed the program, eleven could be judged successful on the basis of on-the-job performance studied several months later.
2. The dominant characteristics of the participants were: lack of motivation and vocational commitment, absence of social-occupational skills, defects in learning skills, fear of tests, tendency to avoid tense situations, and other self-defeating personality traits.
3. They required specific attention from psychologists throughout the re-training program.
4. Lack of direct income during the training period was partially alleviated by a system of loans and grants.
5. Adjustment had to be made to female teachers who, the men felt, were anti-masculine.
6. a. Even after the sincerity of the training staff, counselors, and psychologists had been demonstrated, the men were still suspicious, and
   b. Reacted by 'playing Negro' that is, assuming a withdrawn silent exterior.
7. Lack of a sense of identity was the greatest problem.
   a. Although psychological counseling helped them achieve a sense of mastery over their environment, this problem was not satisfactorily resolved.
8. Necessity of psychological supportive services to prevent them from dropping out and to help them minimize roadblocks in the learning process.

C.1. Need for psychological support in any similar training program for the disadvantaged.

Ryan, Orletta. I get one more 'U', my mother goin' to beat me till it rains. New York Times Magazine, February 13, 1966.

A popularized description of slum life by a Harlem teacher.

B. Slum children have small vocabularies, cannot relate to the teacher as a person, engulfed by hostile and destructive environment, have no respect for property.

C. Schools need to teach children to value themselves and things; effectively use materials available to them; expect children to learn; take care to explain new terms and concepts.

Sadofsky, Stanley. Work Attitudes, Self-Image and the Social and Psychological Background of Work-Seeking Negro Young Men in New York City. A Study of the Meaning, Experience and Effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on Negro Youth Seeking Work, Center for Study of the Unemployed, Graduate School of Social Work, New York University, 1968.

Data gathered from interviews with 601 Negro male out-of-school youths, aged 16-21, at two intake centers.

A.1. Job-seeking Negro youths from the ghetto bear up under extremely depressed socio-economic conditions and function in terms of meaningful long-range life goals.

2. Awareness of need for more education but opposition to returning to the school he has left due to its inadequacy.

3. Low self-esteem and work attitudes of Negro youths impair their ability to seek and hold jobs, erode their commitments to work, depress aspirations toward a better life, and press them toward despair and surrender.

4. Less commitment of Negro job applicant from the ghetto to work as a source of satisfaction and dignity than of the white middle-class high school or college student or the Negro college student.

5. Strong contrast in work attitudes and self-esteem between high school graduates and those who had dropped out.

6. Self-esteem and commitment to work do not improve with schooling, but those with high self-esteem and commitment initially are more likely to complete high school.

B.1. Negro youths are likely to respond to meaningful work-training programs if they are made available.

2. They display potential for employment.

3. To be effective, any work-training program designed for them must take into account their many impairments.

Salsinger, Harry. Following Up on Follow-Through. American Education, Vol. 4, No. 5, 1968.

Report on a pilot project in Detroit. Follow-through, which continues work begun in Head Start, has classes for 100 five-year-old children in two elementary schools located in a Negro area.
The project was funded by a grant from the the U.S. Office of Education in cooperation with OEO. A teacher, a full-time aid, a psychologist, a social worker, and a nutritionist serve the needs of the children.

A.1. About 10% of the children show intellectual promise.
  2. About one-fourth are disturbed. These children, along with their mothers, are receiving psychological help.

B.1. While classroom activities are the same as in any kindergarten, more time is devoted to learning readiness skills such as story telling and listening.
  2. Prompt attention is given to each child in the follow-through program.
  3. Though no evaluation has been made since the program begun in September 1967, teachers and parents are convinced that the children are moving faster than would have been the case in regular kindergarten.
  4. Every effort is made to get the parents into the school program so that cultural handicaps may be overcome.

C.1. Formal evaluation of Follow-Through and Head Start is yet to be made but the director is convinced that the two together will produce results.

Santos, Beatriz N. Special Achievement Testing Needs of the Educationally Disadvantaged. Dissertation, The University of Iowa, 1967.

This study identifies goals and problems in the education of the disadvantaged bearing on the most appropriate achievement tests; the level and variability of achievement in educationally disadvantaged attendance centers in Iowa, and the manner in which the item characteristics functioned in educationally disadvantaged and representative groups of children.

A.1. In programs for educationally disadvantaged children and adults, measurement is extremely important in identification, placement, diagnosis of specific strengths and weaknesses, individualization of instruction and assessing progress.
  2. The purpose was to try to determine how sample data could be employed to best advantage to estimate the item characteristics.
  3. Specifically designed test units chosen for study were in vocabulary, reading, arithmetic, map reading, and language usage.
  4. Differences in item difficulty between the two samples were pronounced but quite variable.
  5. The discrimination indices were at least as satisfactory in the educationally disadvantaged schools as in the representative schools.

C.1. Use of representative samples to estimate the item characteristics for disadvantaged samples is hazardous.

Sawyer, Ethel. Some Methodological Problems in Studying Socially Deviant Communities. Pruitt-Igoe Project Occasional Paper No. 41. Presented at the Ph.D. Colloquim, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Washington University, 1967.

Analysis of certain human aspects of research methodology. The paper raises questions of how the researcher comes to grips with people as human beings with no one suffering in the process.

B.1. a. The subject of the deviant perspective--the orientation of

the field researcher who focusses on the deviance of the group and does not see its normal aspects.

B.1. b. A detailed discussion of the problem of the Negro researcher who studies Negro populations: the tendency to withhold data, excessive empathy or unconventional sentimentality, group identification and reluctance to expose information which might be used to the detriment of the group, and inability to see familiar things as relevant.

c. A review of the problem of role, distance and objectivity of the researcher.

Schnalzried, Beverly Lynn. The Relationship of Anxiety to the Educational and Vocational Aspirations of Lower-Class Adolescent Males. Dissertation, The Florida State University, 1967.

Study of relationship of anxiety to the educational and vocational aspirations of poor white and Negro adolescent. Three measures of aspiration: a) number of years planning to attend school, b) educational plans, and c) number of years of schooling perceived as necessary for first occupational choice. Sample selected from a junior and a senior high school in North Florida during 1966-67.

A.1. A low but significant relationship between anxiety and educational plans of white youths.
2. Similar relationship between anxiety and number of years of schooling planned by Negro youths.
3. A low negative relationship between level of anxiety and the aspiration of both Negro and white youths.
4. For whites, level of anxiety positively related to number of siblings and negatively to mother's occupational level.
5. For Negro students, positive relationship between educational plans and father's educational and occupational level.
6. First-born Negroes, more often, indicated their plans to graduate from college.
7. Less ambitious plans of whites and large families related.
8. A smaller proportion of the white 13 and 14 year-olds than older adolescents planned to terminate their education with high school graduation.
9. Positive relationship between educational plans of whites and mother's educational and father's occupational level.
10. Discussion of other factors, apart from anxiety, important for aspirations of early adolescent from low-income families.

Schneiderman, Leonard (Ohio State University). Project Head Start: Aprons to Cover their Dirty Clothes, Mental Hygiene, Vol. 52, No. 1, January 1968.

Programs which neutralize the destructive effects of slum home conditions of children (Kindergarten and Head Start) are insufficient and should be replaced by programs which will enrich family life (of children) with more resources and opportunities.

A.1. Projects Kindergarten and Head Start are necessary to bring public education to all children who need it and to make it relevant.

A.2. A program to enrich family life must be evolved instead of neutralizing the effects of slum home conditions with compensatory education.
3. About one-half of 34 million poor in the Unites States are either too old, too young, or too disabled to work.
4. Only 8 million poor receive federally financed public welfare.
5. Financial aid given is too inadequate even for those who receive it.
    a. In December 1964 the average recipient in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program received about $1,625 per year.
    b. A 1961 study showed that 46% of all Aid to Families with Dependent Children families had unmet financial needs.

C.1. Liberalization of present standards of eligibility necessary to include more in the program.
2. The policy to subsidize poverty with inadequate assistance and then using compensatory education to neutralize the damage to children must be discontinued.

Schuchter, Arnold. A great society--for the 'deserving poor', white power/black freedom. Planning the Future of Urban America, Boston, Beacon Press, 1968.

Discussion of social welfare and public assistance programs and how they are a major source of perpetuating poverty in the United States.

A.1. In 1966, 3.2 million children received Aid to Families with Dependent Children benefits, but 12 million children in families below the bare subsistence level no benefits.
2. Most American economic and social policies--minimum wages, social security, agriculture, housing, etc.--favor groups above the poverty level.
3. The right of the poor to welfare assistance is qualified by local welfare laws and administration that reflect community values.

C.1. For the mass of Negroes, control of community destiny is the prerequisite for control over their destinies.
2. Publicly assisted income maintenance should be part of federal assumption of all poverty-related urban program costs.
3. Proposals for assuring adequate living standards for all must be evaluated according to:
    a. The amount of aid going to the neediest.
    b. Practicality of administration.
    c. Speed of implementation.
    d. Respective roles of federal and state governments.
    e. Impact on incentive to work.
4. The simplest method is to use the tax system more deliberately as a welfare instrument.

Seasholes, Bradbury. Political Socialization and Race Relations: Implications for School and Community.

The author outlines the status of Negro participation in American politics and considers how Negroes learn their politics, and what they learn, and what opportunities there are to improve upon what they learn.

B.1. Negroes do not particpate very much in American politics. In the South, part of the reason for this is psychological and physical intimidation.
2. Since World War II, Negro participation in political life has been on the increase.
3. Negroes have reintroduced to the American scene certain modes of political activity such as sit-ins, street demonstrations, riots, and picketing.
4. An unusual number of political leaders such as Ralph Abernathy and Stokely Carmichael, do not hold formal government office.
5. Most Negro leaders tend to come from the middle-class.
6. Seemingly, a disproportionate num of the leaders are ministers which gives a strong moral flavor to Negro politics.
7. Negroes are strongly Democratic in their partisan attachment.
8. Negro politics reflect low income, poor education and limited general experience.
   a. By the time most Negro children reach the upper elementary grades, the political information that they acquire is different from what white children pick up.
   b. Negroes tend to become better informed about Negro politicians than about white political figures.
9. Techniques of democracy are learned in school. The Negro's social status in many cases, deprives a disproportionate number of direct uses of democratic techniques as practiced in more middle-class schools.
10. As long as Negroes remain overwhelmingly attached to one political party, they weaken their bargaining power with the other party, and ultimately with both parties.

C.1. More realistic expectations coupled with continuous striving to better the reality would help to alleviate much of the cynicism and pessimism that Negroes feel toward American politics.

Shealey, Floyd Milton. A Study of Job Corpsmen at Camp Attenbury, Indiana, April 1965 to May 1966: Measures of Intelligence, Achievement and Aptitude. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1967.

A study of the effects of a six-month long test-retest measures of intelligence and reading and arithmetic achievement of groups and combined groups of Corpsmen.

A.1. Statistically significant gains in intelligence quotients, reading grade equivalents of corpsmen.
2. Higher scores of terminated corpsmen (than of continuing corpsmen) on measures of intelligence, reading and arithmetic achievement, and aptitude.
3. Higher scores of Northern than of Southern corpsmen on most measures.
4. Caucasian corpsmen scored higher than Negro corpsmen on most measures.
5. But the score of Negro corpsmen significantly higher on motor coordination than the Caucasian corpsmen.
6. No important differences among urban and rural corpsmen.
7. Positive relationship between younger age and higher scores.
8. Significant relationship between the termination-continuation rate and distance from home for Negro corpsmen only and not for Caucasian corpsmen.

Sherill, R.G. Guidelines to frustration, Nation, Vol. 204, No. 3.

Journalistic report.

School desegregation guidelines perpetuate segregation.

1. Enable South to complain and stall.
2. Allowed a few blacks in white schools, not an end to black school, white school system.
3. Three types of compliance allowed:
   a. Operate under Federal court order to desegregate.
   b. Submit proof that schools were desegregated.
   c. 'Free choice' Negroes allowed to choose which school to go to.

Major deterents to law enforcement:

1. President Johnson unwilling to enforce law.
2. Inadequate staff of Justice Department.
3. Justice department wish for USOE to coax school boards into desegregation.

Sizer, Theodore, and Whitten, Philip. A Proposal for a Poor Children's Bill of Rights, Psychology Today, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1968.

Education must be planned for the child in his milieu. Improved education can be the vehicle for upward mobility.

B.1. Lack of equality of educational opportunity in America.

C.1. For improved education, a system of tuition grants, with money given directly to children to assist in paying for their education is required.

2. Discrimination in favor of the poor in education is not only desirable but mandatory.
3. Proposal for a Poor Children's Bill of Rights.
   a. Grant of $1500 per child per year would be given in the form of a coupon to be used in the school of his choice.
   b. The school chosen could use the money as it saw fit.
   c. Large enough grants to motivate schools to compete for it.
4. Inclusion of up to 50% of the nation's children to lower and middle-lower class groups.
5. Schools will have to be more responsive to the needs of their students in order to retain them and attract new pupils.
6. To succeed, the Bill must include some form of guaranteed annual income and more and better health and welfare services.
7. Availability of jobs once the skills have been acquired.

Skill Advancement Inc. Upgrading the Low-Wage Worker: An Economic Approach, Vol. III, The Low-Wage Employee in his Work Environment: A Study in Depth, Preliminary Findings, New York, 1967.

A report on the preliminary findings of Employee Research Study designed by Skill Advancement Inc. to ascertain the readiness of low-skill workers to be trained for better jobs and to examine the impact of an upgrading training program on an organization and its employees.

B.1. The basic assumption was that these workers comprise a relatively isolated stratum at the bottom of the occupational structure. Any effort to reach them for any programs must filter through this sub-system. Preliminary findings proved this conception to be an over-simplification.

B.2. Subjective responses to work situations indicate strong desires of these workers, especially of hospital workers, to see themselves as engaged in interesting and important work.
   3. Identification of a small group of low-wage workers who feel alienated.
   4. But the majority of respondents are more oriented toward their organizations.
   5. Trainees reacted favourably to a training program in their organization.
   6. Beyond the initial circle of friends of initial trainees, employees seem ignorant of the content and consequences of the training program for their fellow workers.

Smith, Arthur E., Collins, Hardin A. & Meindl, Joseph L. Evaluation and Skill Training of Out of School, Hard-Core Unemployed Youth for Training and Replacement, Department of Education, St. Louis University.

Report on a follow-up study of the effectiveness of youth training project (1964-65) of Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, of St. Louis, Missouri.
Fourteen variables were isolated to test hypothesis that there are important differences between groups of successful and unsuccessful youths in each of these variables.

A.1. Workshop Supervision was the only variable which yielded any significant difference.
   2. Family, income, and reading yielded opposite to predicted results.
   3. Positive evaluation of success of program by employers based on the performance of hired trainees.
   4. Majority of trainees and employees recommended more extended program than Jewish Employment and Vocational Service.
   5. Most meaningful findings were connected with differences between successful and unsuccessful trainees regarding job interest and desire to remain employed.

B.1. Lack of control group of subjects for comparison.
   2. No worthwhile conclusions about the agency due to lack of an on-going program.

Smith, Ralph V. et al. Community Interaction and Racial Integration in the Detroit Area: An Ecological Analysis. Ypsilanti, Eastern Michigan University, 1967.

Analysis of the data gathered in 1963 exploring community forces associated with ghetto population.
A total of 1,175 persons, representing the adult population of Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area were interviewed. Included in this survey is the outer suburban zone, comprising sparsely populated rural and low-income areas, as well as satellite cities of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

A.1. Part I of the study explores community interaction (as reflected in formal and informal associational contacts) and racial segregation.

A.2. Part II is an analysis of occupational and educational outlooks for Negroes and whites in the Detroit area.

B.1. The compressing of Negro residents in the inner city results in a corollary compression o. Negro interaction, poverty, and occupational and economic dissatisfaction.

2. Segregated formal associations have the same effect upon community cohesion as segregated residence.

3. Formal association members function in a status-quo manner.

4. In addition to the white-collar job ceiling, there is a white-collar reward ceiling.

5. Concerning the success prototypes, 70% of the parents in Detroit expect their children to pursue professional careers, neglecting our over-definition of occupational success as becoming a professional.

Somers, Gerald G. The Rich, the Poor and Others. The Changing American Economy. John R. Coleman (Ed.), New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1967.

A brief description and discussion of the characteristics of the poverty class and the major lines of public attack being used in the war on poverty.

A.1. Although American society is predominantly middle-class, extremes of wealth and poverty exist.

2. Increases in productive and economic expansion hardly affect the poor.

3. The major characteristics of poverty families are that they are headed by a full-time worker who may or may not be enployed through the year but whose wages are too low to supprt a family.

4. One-fourth of these families are headed by women, om-fifth by aged heads and one-fourth are non-white.

5. Some families have a number of these characteristics, for example, 40% of non-white families in poverty areas are headd by women, a few of whom have year-roun' employment and rost of whom have a low level of education.

6. Relative concentration of poverty in certain geograpic areas. Poverty tends to perpetuate itself in families in thse depressed areas.

B.1. Major government efforts and approaches to remove poverty are:
   a. Upgrading of income of those in the poverty catepries rather than a down-grading of those in higher inome brackets.
   b. Attempts to rehabilitate depressed geographic aras and raising the level of education and skill all overthe country.

2. Other governmental efforts include employment and ol-age insurance, welfare payments, increases in the minimm wage, fair employment legislation, mobility and employmentmeasures aimed at reduction of structural unemployment ratherthan indiscriminate expansion of the total labor demand, and over-all coordination of poverty programs through th Office of Economic Opportunity.

Southern Regional Council. School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing. Atlanta, Georgia, 1966.

A review of the scant progress made toward school desegregation in the South and critique of the U.S. Office of Education guidelines and enforcement procedures.

A.1. In spite of the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring racially separated school systems to be unconstitutional, the South is perpetuating most of these dual systems.
2. Theoretically, Negro children can enroll in white schools but their number is kept at a minimum through physical intimidation, economic reprisal against parents, brief registration periods with insufficient notice, and post-registration removal on grounds of overcrowding.
3. In 1965-66, only 6% of Negro children in eleven Southern states attended desegregated schools.
4. The 1966-67 guidelines were stronger. Their goal was desegregation of all grades by 1967-68 and called for faculty desegregation.
5. The USOE office withheld, or seriously considered withholding funds from only 150-200 school districts although desegregation reached only 2.4-6.6% levels in the five states of the Deep South.
6. Districts which made a pretense of cooperation evaded the law and received federal subsidies for segregation.
7. Past guidelines have not attempted to end dual school systems.

C.1. Future guidelines must be aligned more closely with the law and must be fully enforced with strong protection from reprisal and intimidation.

Spillane, Robert Richard. Job Satisfaction Among Teachers in De Facto Segregated Schools. Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1967.

A study of job satisfaction among teachers in de facto segregated (predominantly Negro) schools in the urban setting.

A.1. Majority of teachers did not plan to teach in the urban setting.
2. Less than one out of ten teachers (in Negro schools) wanted to continue teaching.
3. Great dissatisfaction with teaching in urban areas, whether in predominantly white or predominantly Negro school.
4. Teachers in Negro schools had to provide social and personal guidance for students.
5. Parent apathy caused stress and strain.
6. Intellectual stimulation was the greatest area of dissatisfaction.
7. 88% of teachers felt that special training necessary for teachers of deprived children.

B.1. The pattern of teacher responses suggested that administrative problems and pressures could be expected in the case of teacher salaries, class size, teaching materials, extra class duties, intellectual stimulation, teaching loads and teacher status rather than in the area of human relations of teachers with parents and pupils.
2. Many teachers were in a transient occupation.
3. Teachers found it more difficult to teach than they had been led to expect from their training.
4. Ambiguity of status since the teacher's role was ill-defined.

B.5. Significance of role of teacher by current educational ideology not consonant with the prestige ranking given to it by teachers within the profession.

Starr, Roger. An Attack on Poverty: Historical Perspective. *Urban America: Goals and Problems*. Subcommittee on Urban Affairs of the Joint Economic committee, U.S. Congress, Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1967.

The objective conditions are not the only cause of the riots. A close study of the people involved might reveal that family disorganization is partly the cause and partly an effect of the conditions complained of.

B.1. To the participants, the riots are a substitute for the gratifications of work and the socially acceptable masculine satisfactions of family leadership.
2. The hypothesis on which the poverty program seems to rest is that the poor constitute a nationality which must progress first:
   a. By heightened nationalism.
   b. By the development of their own economy.
3. a. Such an approach does not stimulate the poor to move in the direction of more effective participation in the general economy.
   b. It does not stimulate the general economy to absorb their work and provide them with goods and services in return.
4. The idea of the participation of the poor in the framing of decisions in the program is not necessarily good.
   a. For example, the net effect of the demand to open low-cost housing to all is that stable low-income families keep away from such projects, thus removing stability.

C.1. Jobs which give economic power and satisfaction are the answer.

Stein, Maurice R. Socio-cultural perspectives on the neighborhood and the families. In Eleanor Pavenstedt (Ed.) *The Drifters: Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families*. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

A socio-cultural analysis of the North Point neighborhood, a slum area for many years, in Boston.

A.1. Two categories of people coexist in the area.
   a. The integrated Syrians and Greeks, upper-class Negroes, older roomers, and other model families who are adjusted and organized along middle-class lines.
   b. Alcoholics, bums, etc., for whom North Point is an asylum from which there is no escape.
2. The pattern of life of the multiproblem families is similar to that of skid row derelicts and display the same kinds of oscillating identity as the alcoholic.
3. They view themselves as total failures, and at other times, temporary victims and prospective reformees.
4. They have developed a plurality of identities which adapt them to differing elements within the skid row complex.
5. North Point is an asylum, for these families, in which effects of inadequate mothering, in the form of failures of psychic development are rendered less devastating by the dissociated functioning adult roles and identities.

Stein, Maurice R. The Socio-cultural Setting. In Eleanor Pavenstedt, (Ed.) The Drifters, Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families. Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

This chapter presents a social study of the North Point neighborhood, a slum and skid-row area in Boston.

A.1. Two major kinds of vertical mobility in the area.
  a. Families and individuals who organize into better lower-class or lower-middle-class neighborhoods, e.g., the Greeks and a small number of Negroes who maintain a minimum middle-class front and keep away from all forms of disrepute.
  b. Downward vertical mobility occurs among those persons forced into the area for social reasons, like alcoholism, extreme poverty, isolation, ethnic discrimination, or a combination of these.
2. The disorganized families fall in between these two groups. They maintain a facade of middle-class respectability in specific areas, but this facade cracks at crucial points.
3. On the one hand, they view themselves as complete failures and on the other as temporary victims and prospective reformees.
4. They do not develop a consistent identity; instead they have developed a plurality of inconsistent identities which accommodate them to differing elements and social systems within the skid row complex.

Stein, Philip. Tell It Like It Is. Federal Probation, Vol. 32, No. 3, 1968.

Philip Stein, Supvervising Deputy Probation Officer of the Los Angeles County Probation Department urges probation officers to speak out the truth about problems of capital punishment, poverty and welfare programs, school dropouts, and many other ills suffered daily by human beings.

B.1. Apart from the characteristics of the people in trouble and the kinds of staff and services required to aid them, not much is said how those people got that way.
2. There is insufficient effort to deepen the understanding of the sources and solutions of social problems.

C.1. Probation officers should speak out on the welfare issue wth vigor.
2. They should also tell the people that school dropouts are really pushouts. The schools are not prepared for lower-class youngsters.
3. They should not remain silent when successful pilot projects end because an ambitious politician has promised cutbacks because bureaucrats and politicians compete for leadership.
4. They should challenge those who say "What can I do?". They should work with these people to apply political pressure.
5. To remain oblivious to the causes of social unrest makes th probation officer an accomplice to murder.

Stevens, George L. Implications of Montessori for the War on Poverty. In R.C. Orem (Ed.) *Montessori for the Disadvantaged*, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1967.

The role of the Montessori method in the development of the learning skill of the disadvantaged children.

B.1. The Montessori concept of the classroom as a prepared environment is applicable to the disadvantaged child, since it presents the child with a physical order that contrasts with his home environment.
2. There is also the order of a well-regulated society.
3. A principle of the Montessori system is that concentration cannot be imposed from outside the organism, it must be a consequence of voluntary interest.
4. The Montessori concept of discipline differs from that found in most classrooms.
    a. It is a matter of directing inevitable human energies into socially meaningful channels.
5. The Montessori method is concerned with the development of the child between the ages of three and six.
6. It has demonstrated in many cultures that it can introduce language and related reading readiness skills to children from disadvantaged backgrounds.
7. It has within its curriculum a concern with vocabulary expansion through experience and indirect instruction.
8. It employs a reading program based on instruction in phonics.
9. Its concern with sensory training and perceptual motor skills brings it closely in line with current psychological thought.
10. However, the Montessori method is not a closed system; it is a starting point for the rehabilitation of our disadvantaged children.

C.1. The Montessori method is the only organic pedagogical system designed to deal with disadvantaged children.

Stewart, William F. & Okada, Louise M. *Differential Participation of Low-income Urban Negroes in a Public Health Birth-Control Program.* Presented at 1967 Meeting of the Population Association of America, Inc. Abstracted in *Population Index*, Vol. 33, No. 3, 1967.

The factors related to the differential participation of low-income, urban Negroes in a public health birth-control program.
A program was instituted by the District of Columbia Department of Public Health in April 1964 in connection with deliveries at the municipal hospital and post-partum care at departmental clinics.

A.1. Negative findings to date are the usually expected associations between fertility control and demographic variables.
2. A comparison of the registrants and non-registrants in the 20% systematic sample showed that the proportion participating increased up through third-birth order and dropped off with higher-order parities.
3. Consistent decline in participation with increasing age, although this decline did not always hold true within each parity group.
4. The proportion registering by legitimacy status did not vary.

A.5. A comparison of pregnancy rates and control groups showed that the program was very effective in reducing the number of births among the participants.
6. During the observation period lasting 18 months from a specified live-birth delivery, there were 19 pregnancies among the 65 members of the study group compared with 45 pregnancies among the matched control group.
7. The difference in the number of pregnancies was 14, since 36 of the 65 members of the Control Group had used no contraceptive method over the 18-months observation period compared with 7 such cases among the study group.

Sullivan, Neil V. Discussion, Berkeley Unified School District, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1968.

A comparison of the effectiveness of the programs of compensatory education and of desegregation used by Berkeley Unified School District to improve educational opportunities for Negro children.

A.1. Evaluation of Secondary school desegregation showed:
    a. Desegregation accepted by students and faculty.
    b. Students desegregated in seventh, eighth and ninth grades achieved better grades in tenth grade than those who were not.
    c. Attendance suffered only temporarily.
2. 250 elementary Negro students were bussed to white schools.
    a. Higher average gains achieved by bussed children than by those who were not or those who were bussed in the previous year.
    b. White children made large gains in achievement.
    c. Favourable attitude of staff, parents and students toward the project.
3. On the other hand, schools with compensatory programs showed little gain from the previous year.
4. Another study compared student performance, grades one through six (in the paragraph meaning section of the Stanford Achievement Test) by type of school and race.
    a. In predominantly Negro schools, only 4.5% Negro children in highest achievement category.
    b. Their proportion in integrated schools was 21.4% and 12.6%.

C.1. Educational integration more important than the compensatory programs.
2. Social and economic problems also need to be attacked.

Sutton, Gordon F. Policy Implications of Some Non-Economic Dimensions of Urban Poverty. In Bloomberg, Warner, Jr. & Schmandt, Henry J. (Eds.) Power, Poverty and Urban Policy, Vol. 2, Beverly Hills, California, Sage Publications, Inc., 1968.

The sociological characteristics of the poor, apart from economic factors, must be taken into account in any definition of poverty.

B.1. A sociological analysis of poverty demands a distinction between transitional poverty, which can be changed and overcome, and non-transitional poverty with minimal expectations of poverty.
2. These distinctions have implications for anti-poverty programs.
3. The social benefits of poverty are important.

B.4. a. Understanding poverty will aid in devising strategies.
  b. Although anti-poverty strategy may call for jobs, training efforts, etc., there is serious doubt about the validity of that understanding which sees poverty as soluble in our society.
5. The idea that money alone from the affluent sectors of society can bring about greater success than in the past is speculation.

C.1. More research should be conducted in concert with increases in action programs.

Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity. The Disadvantaged Poor: Education and Employment, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington D.C., 1966.

There are two sections to this book: The first makes 28 recommendations in the areas of education and employment; the second consists of 14 papers dealing with areas touched upon in the first section.

C. Among the educational recommendations made are the following:
1. Federal revenue sharing, income tax credits and consolidated grants to help local and state governments finance better education.
2. Utilization of the educational park concept.
3. Expanded pre-school education.
4. An information clearinghouse for the education of the disadvantaged.
5. Unrestricted access by minority pupils to superior public schools.
6. Basic adult and vocational education expansion.

Thurow, Lester C. The Determinants of the Occupational Distribution of Negroes, The Education and Training of Racial Minorities. Proceedings of a conference, University of Wisconsin, Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, May 1967.

To test the theory of the labor market and the resulting hypotheses and policy implications, the author develops a mathematical model to explain employment gains among the disadvantaged.

B.1. Negro employment gains have not been above what would have been expected in spite of government programs, anecdotal evidence, and aroused desire to hire Negroes.
2. A balanced labor market is unlikely to improve the employment position of the American Negro; an unbalanced labor market is required, with shortages of labor at all skill levels.
3. For purposes of the model the labor force is divided into three groups--adult males, adult females, and teenagers.
4. The model is applied by regressing the employment of the disadvantaged on the variables of the corresponding preferred group.
5. Projections are made, and implications are stated in whic distinctions are made between income and employment goal
6. Some evidence that theory works within occupations as well as across occupations.
7. The professional occupations will probably be the first of the high income occupations to achieve employment parity.
8. But that employment parity will probably be achieved long before income parity.
9. Both types of parity are apt to be achieved faster if we were willing to tolerate unbalanced labor markets.

TIME, Vol. 91, No. 20, May 17, 1968. A Nation Within a Nation.
A brief survey of the varied aspects of poverty and means to cure it in Mississippi, Texas, Kentucky, Maine, New York, California, and with the Havasupai Indians of Arizona.

A.1. 29,700,000 Americans, who live below the poverty level, form another nation within a nation of wealth and abundance.
2. The Orshansky measure, or poverty line, underestimates the real dimensions of poverty in the United States.
3. Number of poor has declined in absolute numbers from 34 million in 1964 to just under 30 million, but this number may form an irreducible minimum under existing programs.
B.1. Poverty is physical and psychological. Both are becoming increasingly institutionalized, to the point of becoming endemic.
2. Poverty in the United States is curable, if not by money alone.
C.1. Required incentives are the guaranteed annual wage, the family allowance, and the negative income tax.
2. Need for better medical care and earlier educational programs followed through with vocational training, cultural enrichment, and ultimate employment. Only then the young will escape the self-regnerating cycle of poverty.

Tucks, Estelle. How Teachers Learn to Help Children Fail. Trans-Action, Vol. 5, No. 9, 1968.

A. A teacher with positive attitude towards her pupils was socialized by peers and supervisors to accepting notion of inferiority of slum children and their parents. Blame for failure placed on slum life, not on school.
C. Teacher should be aware of the social processes involved in inducing pupil failure.

Valentine, Charles A. Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counterproposals. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1968.
The author shows how studies of the poor, who have never been adequately studied by social scientists, could be done and outlines a program for the reduction of poverty.

B.1. The exponents of culture of poverty theory have blamed poverty on the poor and discouraged efforts to wage war on poverty.
2. Poverty is traceable to middle-class behavior toward the deprived.
3. Most studies of the poor, particularly the urban poor, have been made from insufficient evidence; statistics supplied by census-takers, police, and social workers.
C.1. New ethnographic research should be made by anthropologists living among the poor.
2. Thus the needs and motivations of the poor and the structure of their society could be studied by well-tested methods.
3. Proposals to grant the poor power over the resources needed to overcome poverty:
    a. Special rights and positive discrimination in favor of the most disadvantaged groups.
4. The goal would be the reduction of poverty in the United States.

Varner, Sherrel. School Dropouts, Research Summary 1967-S1, National Education Association, Washington D.C., 1967.

This pamphlet discusses the extent of the dropout problem, types of research on the school dropout, why pupils drop out of school, factors associated with early school withdrawal, employment opportunities for school dropouts, and programs to reduce the number of dropouts.

A.1. a. About 29% of the nation's potential high school graduates of 1965 withdrew from school before graduation.
  b. This is a loss not only to youths in terms of self-fulfillment and economics, but also are economic and manpower loss to the nation.

B.1. A cluster of factors is characteristic of the school dropout. These characteristics may be found in one or more of the areas of (a) factors unique to the individual; (b) school-related factors; (c) family-related factors; or (d) community-related factors.
  2. a. Programs for school dropouts are becoming increasingly common and include a wide range of preventive and remedial activities.
    b. These include school-sponsored programs, programs initiated and supported by the federal government, and programs sponsored by other interested agencies.
    c. There is a lack of research on the effectiveness of such programs in achieving stated goals.
  3. Though research on the subject of the causes and consequences of early school withdrawal is abundant, its results are inconclusive and often not comparable because of the design and conduct of the study, the population studied, or the bias of the investigator.

Vaughn, Abb Rhodes. A Study of the Effects of Cultural Disadvantage on Six Problem Solving Abilities of Ninth Grade Students in General Science. Dissertation, St. Louis University, 1967.

Investigation of the relationship between cultural disadvantage and the ability of ninth-grade students to solve problems in general science.

A.1. Comparison of abilities of adolescents from culturally and non-culturally disadvantaged backgrounds.
  2. In order to select typical culturally and non-culturally disadvantaged pupils, effort was made to equate them only in reading ability.
  3. This limiting condition necessary for use of a graded verbal survey instrument.
  4. The culturally disadvantaged group had an age mean of 15.0 and a reading mean of 8.48.
  5. Figures for non-culturally disadvantaged group were 14.7 and 8.40 respectively.
  6. Better score of culturally disadvantaged in four of the six selected problem solving abilities in general science.

B.1. Average reading and verbal ability of the culturally disadvantaged group indicates that they may not have been typical.

B.2. Furthermore, comparable reading and verbal skills of culturally and non-culturally deprived students suggests that the former might be intellectually superior to the latter.

C.1. Another study using a non-verbal survey instrument in problem-solving be carried out.

2. Such an instrument would ensure selection of typically disadvantaged.

Via, Emory F. Discrimination, Integration and Job Equality. Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 91, No. 3, 1968.

Review of employment desegregation in the South and the role of the federal and state government and the private sector.

A.1. Attitudes of Negroes and whites vary. Negroes consider the change in job equality too slow and to whites it appears very fast.

2. Worker attitudes toward job equality show a wide range of responses from Negroes and whites, suggesting that job integration can work.

3. Negro employment is greatest at the lower levels in the federal government as in the private sector.

4. Statistics presented to show that Mexican-Americans experience the same job discrimination as Negroes.

5. Role of unions and voluntary organizations reviewed.

B.1. Although statistics on employment desegregation in the South are not encouraging, there are signs that some Southerners are moving toward acceptance of change.

C.1. Education and training and a strong government posture on job rights are vital to job integration.

Wagner, Bartlett Adam. The Responses of Economically Advantaged and Economically Disadvantaged Sixth Grade Pupils to Science Demonstrations. Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1967.

Comparison of written, oral, and construction responses of sixth-grade students (to science demonstrations) on the basis of social class differences.

A.1. Experiment carried out in Bridgeport, Connecticut to acquire understanding of the academic performance of poor children in elementary school science.

2. Significant differences in suitable written and oral responses of advantaged and disadvantaged pupils.

3. No important difference in the construction responses.

4. In situations requiring limited verbal response, disadvantaged pupils can understand and also communicate their understanding of science concepts.

5. Use of instructional procedures which capitalized on the individual abilities of pupils might, to a great extent, compensate the restricted background of disadvantaged pupils.

C.1. Further exploration and analysis necessary.

2. The study has implications for teachers, curriculum developers, textbook writers, persons involved in the education of teachers, and others concerned with problems of disadvantaged youth.

3. Three alternative methods for evaluating science instruction used with deprived and non-deprived sixth-grade students are compared.

Weber, Robert E. *Higher Education and the Student of Low-Income and Minority Group Status*, Responsive Environments Corporation, 1966.

College education should become more available to the poor and minority group members and be adapted to their needs.

A.1. American Indians average only five years of schooling.
  2. Once in college, the disadvantaged drop out at an alarming rate. About half of all entering freshmen manage to graduate, but only 30% of Negro students do.
  3. The nation needs an increasing number of professionals to do its work.
    a. In the next few decades, the number of people in the 25-64 age bracket, containing the lion's share of productive workers, will be diminishing in proportion to the number of younger and older citizens.
    b. The social service field especially needs skilled workers: the scarcity of social workers and teachers is well known, while that of nurses is approaching a crisis.

B.1. College is a mode of existence alien to the lower-class background.
  2. The courses seem irrelevant to their needs.
  3. They rarely get the experiences of success needed to boost lagging morale.
  4. They come to college with language and reading difficulties and with thin wallets.
  5. The result is a freezing of the status quo as those from families of low income and education founder.

C.1. Winning the war on poverty must include compensatory and further education of the minorities and the poor.
  2. Colleges can reach the disadvantaged students in a number of ways:
    a. Institutions must use new educational technology to meet their special needs, e.g. language laboratories to improve their language skills.
    b. Revision of the curriculum toward development of the skills and perceptions needed to solve the current problems of our democracy.
    c. Courses in American Studies should deal with problems of poverty and social change.
    d. Other possibilities for bettering college curricula exist; e.g. experimental admissions programs and work/study arrangements.

Weiner, Max and Murray, Walter. Another Look at the Culturally Deprived and Their Levels of Aspiration. In Joe A. Apple (Ed.) *Readings in Educating the Disadvantaged*, Selected Academic Readings, Inc., New York, 1963.

Lower-class parents may set high academic goals for their children, but these goals are abandoned in the face of adversity.

B.1. The difference between the middle- and lower-class parents lies not in degree of aspiration for their children, but rather in the willingness to hold to these goals in the face of obstacles, and whether these goals are real or ideal.

B.2. The feeling that college is not reachable, held by many lower-class parents and children, constitutes a major obstacle to inspiring the culturally deprived to continue their education, even to the completion of high school.

C.1. Change in the attitudes of parents and children toward the reachability of their goals.

2. Parent education classes and group discussions could show them that lack of money is not an insurmountable obstacle to attendance in college or a trade school:
   a. That part time employment, scholarships, and grants are available.
   b. Savings plans can be instituted.
3. Intensive guidance and counseling should encourage able students to apply to colleges and trade schools.
4. Analysis of value systems concerning success and failure, with emphasis on the resultant differing behavior.
5. Following questions should be considered:
   a. What are the differences between symbols and behavior within social class?
   b. What success models exist in each class and what is the basis of their success?
   c. What causes the differences in willingness to preserve goals while encountering obstacles?

Whitaker, Barbara. Breakdown in the Negro Family. Myth or Reality? New South, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1967.

This critical examination of the findings of the Moynihan Report presents another interpretation of Negro family life.

A.1. a. The Moynihan Report gives the impression that the Negro family is devoid of strength.
b. Yet 75% of Negro urban marriages are intact and only 25% are dissolved by desertion.

2. a. The high incidence of illegitimacy is one of the factors on which the report bases its case for family instability.
   b. Yet while it is true that the number of Negro illegitimate births has soared, the rate has remained relatively stable.

B.1. The present characteristics of low-income Negro families are due not so much to a legacy of slavery as to post-slavery discrimination and deprivations.

2. Comparisons within different income levels show that the differences associated with income outweigh those associated with color.
3. In examining Negro family life, it is important to distinguish between what is different and what is pathologically deviant.
4. Instability, illegitimacy, and matriarchy may be the most positive adaptations possible to the Negro economic position.

C.1. To improve the position of disadvantaged Negro families, there should be increased family planning services, community services to aid mothers, such as day care centers and visiting homemakers, services for fatherless children, and acceptance of Negro families into the social mainstream of American life.

Wickenden, Elizabeth. Poverty, Civil Liberties, and Civil Rights: A Symposium. New York University Law Review, Vol. 41, No. 2, 1966.

B.1. Victims of poverty suffer invasion of their civil liberties and denial of their civil rights.
  2. Repression and denial of civil liberties brought about by belief that the poor are poor because of their inadequacies for which they should be punished. However, Bill of Rights protects poor people too.

C.1. Legal action should protect the poor from illegal repression.

Williams, Gertrude. Counselling for Special Groups, Employment of Special Groups Series, No. 3, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Paris, 1967.

Report on a pilot project designed to test the value of special counselling intended to help frequent job-changers and the long-term unemployed to become productive member of the labor force.

A.1. Participation by five countries in this pilot operation to test the possible uses of Employment Service for the identification, interviewing, and short-term counselling of the long-term unemployed.
  2. Increase in rate of placement and personal initiative in looking for work through interviews and short-term counselling.
  3. Employment Service as a referral agency for long-term counselling.
  4. Several countries have since extended similar services to the people.
  5. In the United States the Employment Service, in co-operation with other agencies, reaches into the community to locate disadvantaged persons likely to benefit from such a program.

B.1. Those likely to benefit include the following groups of workers:
  a. Those whose opportunity had declined through economic circumstances.
  b. Those ready to work with capacity below the average in the types of work they are able to do.
  c. Those with average capacity but lacking necessary training.
  d. Those with personal and economic problems.
  e. Those marginally physically or mentally disabled.

Williams, James D. Communications with the Inner City, Communities in Action, Vol. 3, 1968.

A discussion of the various ways and means to establish communication with the inner city. The basic factor involved is the respect for the ghetto resident.

C.1. Middle-class people must respect the personality of the ghetto.
  2. Ghetto residents resent the fact that they are treated as different by the outside world. This increases their unwillingness to communicate with the outside world. The result is a paradox--a slum, whose needs are the greatest and are most difficult to reach.
  3. To reach the ghetto residents, one must understand what motivates them and what causes them to act or not to act.
  4. Such understanding should not be based on middle-class values for the language of the message is as important as the message.

C.5. Various techniques can be used to communicate. As for example, ethnically oriented radio stations; folk heroes of the inner city; Negro press; magazines and other printed materials; and parades to attract attention and street corner booths to disseminate information.

6. The natural leaders of the community should be consulted early in the formation of the program.
7. With their support and if the program respects the ghetto resident, communication can be established.

Williams, Walter. Cleveland's Crisis Ghetto, Trans-Action, Vol. 4, No. 9, 1967.

Description of the social and economic changes since 1960 in the lives of Negroes of Cleveland, Ohio, as reflected in the special census conducted in 1965.

A.1. Sharp economic polarization of the city's Negroes.
   a. A substantial number had moved up to a more affluent life.
   b. But the group in the worst part of the ghetto was at a level of poverty below that of 1960.
2. The gap between the haves and the have-nots has widened strikingly.
3. In the worst area, the 'Crisis Ghetto':
   a. the number of Negro children in poor female-headed households increased sharply;
   b. unemployment was higher;
   c. income lower;
   d. a larger percentage of this population was poor.
4. This area has become a concentration point for the hard-core poor.
5. Significant increase (in percentages) in family units with the least economic potential, i.e., those headed by women and the aged.
6. Although the Crisis Ghetto population declined by about 20% during the period of 1960-65, once poverty has locked someone in the Crisis Ghetto
   a. the chance of being forced to remain, and
   b. the consequences of remaining are greater than if one lived in another area of the city.

Willie, Charles V. The Relative Contribution of Family Status and Economic Status to Juvenile Delinquency, Social Problems, Vol. 13, No. 3, 1967.

Study of the relationship between juvenile delinquency, on the one hand, and family status and economic status, on the other.

Data for the study are the 1959-62 records of 6269 youths referred to the District of Columbia Juvenile Court. Pearsonian correlation coefficients were computed for 115 of the 125 census tracts of the city.

A.1. a. No great reduction in delinquency in Washington and other cities with large non-white population without substantial increase in non-white economic status.
   b. In Washington D.C. 67% of the non-white population live in poverty areas, and more than four of every five youths referred to juvenile court in the city are Negro.

A.2. a. 80% of whites in Washington live in economically affluent neighborhoods.
  b. Family instability, instead of poverty contributed to juvenile delinquency among whites.
3. Socio-economic and family status have overlapping but different ecological patterns of distribution in an urban community.
4. Socio-economic and family status make independent as well as joint contributions to variations in the ecology of juvenile delinquency.
5. The preventive potential of two parent households against juvenile delinquency tends to be impaired by family instability.
6. Similar delinquency rates for whites and non-whites living in the most disadvantaged environment characterized by many broken homes and low income.
7. Probability of greater success of community programs designed to prevent juvenile delinquncy associated with both family instability and economic insecurity if they focus first upon increasing the economic status.

Willie, Charles V. Intergenerational Poverty, 1969.

Intergenerational transmission of poverty cannot be due to only deficiencies in the person, family or clan since poverty is a function of inadequacies in the operations of social systems. Thus, systematic changes are necessary to eliminate poverty among individuals.

B.1. There is some intergenerational transmission of poverty, though not as much as is generally assumed.
2. Upward social mobility is more common than the continuation of intergenerational poverty.
3. The perpetuation of poverty from one generation to the next is likely to be a function of personal and family-connected circumstances as well as patterns of institutional organizations.
4. Family instability cannot be considered to be chief factor associated with poverty since a majority of poor families have structures similar to affluent families.
5. Personal and family-connected circumstances are likely to be more powerful explanations of poverty among whites than among non-whites.
6. Racial discrimination has prevented Negroes and other non-white minorities from participating fully in the benefits of an expanding economy.
7. Institutional arrangemnets and patterns of social organization are likely to be more powerful explanations of the presence of poverty among non-whites than among whites.

C.1. Administrative and research task is to study ways of changing institutional systems, e.g. seeking better ways to eliminate racial discrimination.
2. Persisting patterns of unequal opportunity must be identified.
3. The way to have a major impact upon the reduction of poverty, whether intergenerational or other, is to focus ameliorative efforts first upon social arrangements and then upon personal behavior, and not the other way around.
4. Probability of finding more new ways of reducing intergenerational poverty by increasing research to economic and social institutional arrangements within the society.

Wiltie, Charles V. Deprivation and Alienation: A Compounded Situation. In Daniel Schreiker (Ed.) Profile of the School Dropout, New York, Random House, 1967.

The neighborhood school concept cannot succeed in giving the Negro a truly equal education and thus a way out of deprivation. Deprivation is a function of alienation--to solve the former one must solve the latter.

B.1. Negro youngsters have become alienated because for years they have been segregated, discriminated against, and herded into a separate caste-like status.
2. The poor motivation and attitude attributed to Negroes are expressions to camouflage the poor effort of the adult affluent society to provide deprived youth with opportunities to become part of the mainstream of society.
3. No inherent virtue in the neighborhood school; the quality of education is more important than the geographic location of the school.

C.1. Teaching personnel should be deployed in such a way that the staff of any given school will be integrated.
2. This in itself would provide a valuable model of bi-racial co-operation for the students.

Winslow, Robert W. Economic Factors in Delinquency, Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society. Selections from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Belmont, California, Dickenson Publishing Co., 1968.

Our economy is urban industrial, it reinforces the stratification system according to which social and economic rewards are distributed. These rewards are the keys to delinquency.

B.1. The types of crimes that concern us are more prevalent among low-income people.
2. Fleisher's study has shown
    a. the effect of unemployment on delinquency is positive;
    b. unemployment upon entering the labor market can help explain the age distribution of juvenile delinquency.
3. The statistical effect of race is insignificant; population mobility shows a highly significant effect.
4. Affluence has an impact on education because of increased public support of schools and because affluent families can forego financial contributions of working adolescents.
5. The importance of high educational aspiration is shown by the fact that
    a. American children of Chinese, Japanese, and Jewish backgrounds do well in school and pursue higher education in disproportionate numbers.
    b. They also have low delinquency rates.
6. Negro children, in spite of their aspirations, are less likely to see education as feasible, their delinquency rate is high.
7. The longer a child stays in school, the smaller the chance of his committing crimes.

C.1. It is likely that planned educational upgrading would result in lowered delinquency rates.

Winslow, Robert W. The Etiology of Crime, Crime in a Free Society. Selections from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Belmont, California, Dickenson Publishing Co., Inc., 1968.

Weak social institutions, such as school and family, in the inner city give rise to a high rate of crime, vice, and financial dependence in the slums.

B.1. Delinquency rates, truancy, high unemployment, mental disorders, infant mortality, tuberculosis, and families on relief are highest in the inner city.
2. For failing the inner city resident, particularly the young, the society pays the price through crime.
 a. There are the lives forfeited, the personal injuries suffered, the inconveniencing and sometimes irremedial loss of property.
 b. Also destruction of individual initiative, productivity, pride and the sense of social participation.

C.1. Society can no longer neglect the inner city.
2. More money, people, and energy must be devoted to solving its problems.
3. Massive attack necessary against the factors underlying crime--poor physical environment, family disorganization, inadequate slum schools, and employment--to reduce crime.

Wohlford, Paul & Stern, Harris W. Reaching the Hard-to-Reach: the Use of Participant Group Methods with Mothers of Culturally Disadvantaged Pre-school Children. Presented at American Arthopsychiatric Association, Chicago, 1968.

Report on a project using participant group methods on Negro mothers (of children attending a pre-school day-care program) in an effort to bridge the gap between the values of home and school.

A.1. Conflicting values of a program like Head Start and from home may make a child emotionally disturbed.
2. 13 Negro mothers participated in the project.
3. They attended six weekly meetings for purposes of evaluation of and, where necessary, intervention in detrimental parent-child interactions. Two parts of each meeting:
 a. Discussion and demonstration of things parents can do to expand their child's cognitive world, build his power and enhance his pre-reading skills.
 b. Use of T-group method of small-group participation to discuss aspects of mother-child interaction.
4. Mothers' concern about their competency as mothers.
5. Group leaders felt that many mothers were hostile to their children resulting in lack of interaction in any way that would build cognitive skills.
6. Many mothers identified with their children so much that their separate identity disappeared.

C.1. Group experience demonstrated the diagnostic-evaluative function of T-group method.
2. Same method could be used with culturally deprived parents for more educative therepeutic goals.

Wolf, E.P. & Lebeaux, C.N. Class and Race in the Changing City: Searching for new approaches to old problems. In Schnore, Leo. F. (Ed.) Social Science and the City, Praeger, 1968.

An overview of the problems of the central city in relation to attempts to stop it becoming the territory of the disadvantaged, and the efforts to improve the lot of the poor.

A. Retaining the Haves and the Recepturing of them: Middle-class households.

1. A number of strategies have been used in middle-class neighborhoods to stabilise their area, control or halt the outgoing whites and to control the incoming Negroes. Methods to do this have included:
    a. Attempts to control methods used by real estate people.
    b. Maintaining and building up neighborhood standards to keep whites there and to bring Negroes up to scratch.
    c. Bringing to the surface stereotypes and prejudices of white residences and correcting their false information.
    d. Building neighborhood morale and cohesion to stop people leaving and to give the incoming Negroes a standard to measure up to.
    e. Efforts to control the incoming people by handling their real estate within the community and soliciting the right kind of people.
    f. By discouraging too many Negroes from coming, by dispersing them throughout the city and by controlling their place of residence within the suburb.
    g. Schools a problem: they try to maintain the high standard of the school and to control the possibility that upwardly mobile children may bring their rowdy children to upset the status quo and lower standards.
2. There have been attempts to recapture white middle-class households with inner city redevelopment and there are major problems involved with such juxtaposition of social classes. They suggest the problem is social class difference rather than ethnic difference. Note: They conclude this section by suggesting that controlling efforts have not been too successful, but if this assimilation could take place in terms of ethnic mixture but with the same social class this could have long-term effects.
3. Growth and limitations of the Traditional Welfare Programs. The United States has spent massive amounts in the last few years and seems to be reducing poverty level, but much, if not most, does not get to the poor. Only about 50% get any social insurance or public assistance payments.
4. The changing Clientele. The Negroes have emerged as the dominant problem area and ADC funds and public housing efforts are moving towards more diverse means of assistance.
5. New Anti-Poverty Programs.
    a. Participation of the poor encouraged in social and political action, as resource people, in policy and power positions and in employment.
    b. Social workers have too much expected of them and ran into accusations of abandoning poor, people changing, cultural gap colonialism, remedial rather than preventive. Change is needed in their orientation.

A.5. c. Problems in education: changing proportions of Negroes in public schools and the lowering of standards in the eyes of the community; that much of backwardness comes from the habits in the home; and that the school is middle-class oriented.

C.1. Using techniques, methods etc., appropriate to lower-class children.

2. Massive program of compensatory education, child welfare services and anti-poverty program will make substantial changes in school achievement.

Wolfbeing, Seymour L. Education and Training For Full Employment, New York, Columbia University Press, 1967.

The first part of the book describes the post-World War II development of a triple revolution in American economic, manpower, and work-income policies. The second part focusses on ten propositions and the third analyzes the first years of programs relevant to the war on poverty.

B.1. In all three areas of economic, manpower, and work-income policies the common denominator is social and economic action in the interest of the uneducated, the unskilled, the unemployed, and the poor.

C.1. The ten propositions are: 1) Everyone can be trained, 2) everyone needs to be trained, 3) every place needs training, 4) advances in vocational and adult education are necessary for successful training program results, 5) encounters with the environment, particularly in education, should be provided at the earliest possible age, 6) everyone can be guided, counselled and motivated toward education, training and job placement, 7) the employment of indigenous populations in programs significantly improves outcomes, 8) training and retraining represent economic growth-producing programs, 9) the persistent differentials in employment and poverty in the United States can be minimized and eventually eliminated, and 10) the personal services occupations will provide a major employment arena for the jobless and poor.

2. Areas and programs relevant to the war on poverty are institutional training, on-the-job training, special programs of the Manpower Development and Training Act, and programs under recent education and poverty legislation.

Wolfgang, Marvin E. The Culture of Youth, Studies in Delinquency, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1967.

Discussion of the emergence of a distinct sub-culture of youth in recent American history.

B.1. American youths represent a sub-culture of values and beliefs.

2. American youths are undergoing a newly-extended socialization process that contributes to their heightened dependency status.

3. The masculine protest is in the process of transformation, from physical powers to symbolic expression.

B.4. The evidence does not show alarming rate increases in the amount and character of violent youth crimes.

5. Youths, Negroes, and the poor share much in common as each strives for power and participation in decision-making processes.

Wright, Nathan Jr. Ready to Riot, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1968.

The author has presented the case study of the city of Newark as an example of advanced urban blight.

B.1. Negroes in the inner city ghettos do not need poverty programs, urban renewal, job training, integration, or public welfare.

2. They need status and the ability to achieve equitable power relationships with those who have been controlling them.

3. Since the migration of Negroes to the central cities in large numbers after World War II, Negroes have been exploited by the suburbs and by the city itself, and have been denied group identity and group pride.

4. Riots are seen as a logical result of our national failure to come to terms with the changes in the life of our cities.

C.1. The problems of our cities must be redefined, and values must be changed.

2. New Approaches must be found through imaginative planning on the national and local levels.

3. At least four concerns have either been overlooked or dealt with inadequately in our past and present approaches to public planning, human growth and fulfillment, the concept that cities are people, system and situational changes, and self-interest.

4. Black middle-class leaders must be given the opportunity to set their own agendas.

5. Instead of escaping to the suburbs, black leadership must provide the knowledge and perspective so important to guiding urban social change.

6. Otherwise American cities are doomed to conditions of mounting crisis, continuous low-keyed rebellion, and the threat of open warfare.

Young, Carlene Herb. An Analysis of the Influence on Educational Policy of Community Organizations in a Large Urban Center. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967.

A study to investigate the influence of four community organizations (NAACP, National Urban League, Congress of Racial Equality, SNCC) on educational policy, with special reference to provisions for equal educational opportunity in terms of personnel, curriculum, and improved quality education, in Detroit public schools from 1960-65.

A.1. The educational system does not provide equal educational opportunity.

2. The NAACP exerted the most influence on and received the most response from the educational system.

3. Channels of communication are open, easily accessible, and continually in use.

4. The superintendent is the most influential person in determining educational policy.

A.5. Representatives of the educational system felt that the organizations had influenced policy decisions.
  6. Changes in educational policy during the years investigated may be described as fractional and ameliorative, not substantive.
  7. The major goal of the organizations is the intensification of efforts directed toward the provision of equal educational opportunity by the educational system.

C.1. Organizations require knowledge of bureaucratic structure and functioning of school system. They should develop their own structure for coordination of efforts and tactics on major issues.
  2. Development and implementation of follow-up procedures by the organizations and the educational system to determine the status of controversial issues.

Young, Leontine. Poverty and Social Work, In Milly Cowles (Ed.) Perspectives in the Education of Disadvantaged Children. Cleveland, The World Publishing Com., 1967.

Role of social workers in alleviating the stress of poverty and of other disorganizing factors among the urban poor.

A.1. Poverty becomes a seriously disorganizing factor only when it is combined with other forces.
  2. Most urban poor families are Negro or other minority groups.
  3. Disorganized families have the following characteristics:
    a. Lack of goals and living from day to day.
    b. Disorganization weakens the role definitions of family members of their mutual responsibilities.
    c. Social isolation weakens standards of behavior and deprives the family of external supports which might mitigate its weaknesses.

B.1. Without the intervention of social worker, disintegration is carried over from one generation to the next.
  2. If the school is seeking to inculate standards at variance with those the child has learned at home, conflict arises.
  3. Family may actively oppose the school without help.
  4. New conflict is produced by the children's higher educational and social goals, which challenge the painfully acquired adequacy of the parents.
  5. Brief description of a case study of one such family which was helped by the intervention of social workers.

Supplement

Boger, Robert F. Head Start Teachers Ethnic Group Membership and Attitude towards Child Behaviour, Some Relationships. Paper, A.E.R.A., New York, 1967.

This study was to determine if experienced teachers with similar socio-economic backgrounds but of various ethnic origins would differ in: 1) attitudes and sensitivities towards child behaviour, 2) levels of optimism about working with these children.

The Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory and two other attitude scales were administered to the teachers who were Mexican-American, Anglo-American and Negro.

A.1. Negro and Mexican-American teachers entered the program with more eagerness and empathy.

2. Negro and Mexican-Americans were more optimistic about obtaining positive results.

3. Anglo-American teachers appeared less dominative and authoritarian than did Mexican-American and Negro teachers in their attitudes towards child behaviour (however these differences between Anglo-American and Negro teachers in particular tended to decrease with teaching experience).

3. Negro teachers viewed child behaviour as being less environmentally and more biogenetically determined than Mexican-Americans who in turn were more disposed to these views than were Anglo-American teachers.

Bossard, James H.S. & Boll, E.S. Rituals in Family Living, in Roberts, Joan I. (Ed.), School Children in the Urban Slum, Free Press, 1967.

Part of a larger book comparing the life-styles of families of different social levels. Different behaviors within the family of middle and lower class groups are compared.

A.1. Awakening: Lower class is spasmodic and disjointed--father usually leaves early. Middle class much more a family and together affair.

2. Bathroom Procedures: More privacy for middle class but congestion in both groups.

3. Breakfast rituals: In all classes it was partly on the run. Lower class child gets on--no sit down breakfast. Middle class family served in relays by mother--family conversation.

4. Dinner: Lower class on the run--unlikely to sit down and to be together. Middle class; formal procedure, discussion, tasks, etc.

5. Work and Recreation: For lower class there is little family recreation. Children seek own interests, but for middle class there are tasks to do and regular family recreation.

6. Religious rituals: Middle class have regular forms like grace and prayers at home, with Sunday church for more than half. Lower class have similar religious forms at home when the children are young . The church exerts more individual pressure on the young. Families seldom go to church together.

A.7. Summer Vacations: Middle class usually try to get away as a family to a different place. Lower class family very seldom ever goes together but parts of the family amy go away.
8. Family Budgeting: Middle class children usually get a set sum, can earn money and have reasonable idea about the family finances. Lower class children have to ask for money, are never sure they will get it, and are kept out of parents' affairs.
9. Present Giving: Middle class has gift rituals, and lower class at birthdays and Christmas.

Buck, Roy C. & Kuvleskey, Wm. P. The Teacher-Student Relationship: A Study of Community Expectations, Nov. 1960.

This study looked at the role of the public school teacher within the classroom and outside the classroom. Included 3,000 subjects of all kinds related to the school in Pennsylvania.

A.1. None of the groups agreed on the definition of the teachers' role for both the extra-class or in-class sectors.

Cahill, I.D. Child Rearing in Lower Socio-Economic Groups, in Dentler, R.A., Mackler, B. & Warshauer, M.E. (Eds.) The Urban R's. Published for the Center of Urban Education by Praeger, 1967.

An empirical study using the Sears, Maccoby, Levin Child-rearing questionnaire with 60 lower socio-economic mothers taken to be lower class. Compares Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Caucasians--only 20 in each cell. Matched for education, income, occupation. Chi^2 used as the statistical test. Ethnic groups compared with each other and then composite values compared with those of the Sears et al. work.

A.1. Differences between the ethnic groups were on variables of:
   a. Weaning.
   b. Toilet training.
   c. Aggression.
   d. Dependency.
   e. Anxiety about sex.
2. Dependency was most significant in (a) amount exhibited by children and (b) tolerance of it by parent.
3. Similarities between Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Caucasians:
   a. All 3 groups were non-permissive when compared to lower class, working class, and middle class mothers of Sears et al.
   b. No tolerance of nudity or sex.
   c. Aggression to parents not tolerated.
   d. Physical punishment swift and severe.
   e. Means of control object oriented.
   f. Withdrawal of love never used.
   g. Physical immobility striking.
   h. Aggression for self-protection encouraged except by Puerto Ricans.
   i. Not child dominated or anxious about child rearing.
4. Stereotypes of the lower-class family rejected:
   a. That no identifiable norms in child rearing exist.
   b. Lower class women were concerned with the well-being

of children, although non-permissive.

A.4.c. Most parents try to provide as stable home life as possible.
d. Lower class men when present, assume an active role in responsibility and assuming authority.

B.1. Child rearing practices of the ethnic groups were more similar than dissimilar.
2. The assumption that there is a sub-culture of poverty is supported.
3. Therefore social class exerts stronger influence on child rearing than ethogeny.

Capener, H.R. American Society Spotlights the Low-Income Family. American Home Economics Association Regional Conference, Mimeographed, 1966.

A general discussion of its potential role of home economics in fighting poverty.

A.1. Summary of values of poor based on social science findings:
- a. localized view of world,
- b. close family and class ties,
- c. suspicion of outsiders,
- d. resignation to harsh environment,
- e. work orientation to earning and spending money,
- f. dependence upon religion,
- g. low self-esteem,
- h. quick resort to physical punishment,
- i. fear of failing health and unemployment,
- j. adult roles for children at earlier age,
- k. identify problems of identity.

C.1. Two roles of the Home Economic workers.
- a. Inform themselves and community regarding poverty.
- b. Direct work with poor. Professionals should expect to learn from poor and avoid making value judgments based upon background difference.

2. Home Economist can:
- a. establish contact between families outside world,
- b. work with groups so strength of group can serve as part of learning process,
- c. kindle interest in self-help.

Chess, Stella, M.D. et al. Social Class and Child-Rearing Practices. Paper, American Psychiatric Association Divisional Meeting, November 1967.

Comparison of psychological attributes of two groups of children of different ethnic and class background but with similar family stability. Group I consisted of 136 children with highly educated native born middle class parents and group II of 95 children with Puerto Rican unskilled or semi-skilled working class parents.

A.1. Middle class children responded to demands for cognitive functioning by making a greater proportion of mark responses than did the Puerto Rican children.
2. Their responses were also more frequent to cognitive demands by verbalization rather than action or gesture.

A.3. Difference in the kinds of verbalization made when the children failed to work.
B.1. These differences can be explained by differences in child rearing practices.
2. a. Emphasis on task orientation and task completion in play and on interaction between parents and child in middle class families, whereas
   b. Puerto Rican families encourage social interaction rather than task completion.
3. The atmosphere in middle class homes produces regular and systematic improvements in skill.
4. Lack of pressures for achievement in Puerto Rican homes.
5. Pattern of play different, with middle class parents regarding toys as an educational source, and Puerto Rican families regarding toys as a source of amusement.

Coles, Robert. Death of the Heart in Ghetto Children, Federal Probation, Vol. 32, No. 3, September 1968.

Their wretched environments make the ghetto children stubborn and recalcitrant; and over-pessimistic and hopeless about their future. These feelings are heightened by the school.

B.1. By the time they arrive in school, ghetto children are aware of their hopeless environments.
2. There is desperate puritanism among many of these families.
   a. Ghetto children are treated more strictly than their middle-class counterparts.
   b. They are shouted at more, beaten more, preached at more, and trusted less.
3. At four or five they are often quiet, accepting, and fearful in the presence of their elders.
4. At first they are this way in school, but then they realize the truth.
5. They see the school as a detention center; those associated with it do not care about them and only want silence as their mothers do.
6. They realize that every word they have heard preached at them is foolish and not to the point.
7. They realize that their mothers who shout the American dream at them are themselves living proof of some terrible nightmare.
8. They conclude that their efforts are wasted and become stubborn.
9. Eventually they are claimed by the streets, the courts, the jails, the insane asylums, the hospitals and death.

Demak, Leonard Sidney. A Study of the Meanings of Selected Educational Concepts to Culturally Diverse Groups, Using the Semantic Differential. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967.

Variables associated with characteristics of socio-economic status have been regarded as both cause and effect of difficulties experienced in improving educational experiences for the disadvantaged. It has become a cliche that there are distinct differences between middle class and lower class children in the value they place on education.

A.1. Lower economic class Negro children are at least as committed to education as white middle class children.

A.2. It was argued that the results might reflect a movement toward a mass culture of commonly accepted values and attitudes.

3. Within one group, the middle class white children a significant difference between "I am" and "I would like to be" on both dimensions occurred.
4. Its non-occurrence in the lower class group might be due to the recognition by those children that social and economic opportunities combine to reduce their opportunities for a stronger and favorable self-image. Circumstances of the lives of their families and derogating views of others may have limited their aspirations.
5. It may be argued that the discrepancy in the middle class group reflects maladjustment.

Erickson, E.L. et al. Teacher Mobility, Teacher Drop-Out and the Expectations of Family and Friends. Final Report, Center for Sociological Research, Western Michigan University, 1968.

Questionnaire on 286 first and second year male teachers in a mid-western urban school district.

The research studied the hypothesis that group influences are a major determining factor in teacher drop-out and mobility, specifically teachers' family and friends.

A.1. Hypothesis confirmed.

Fogel, Walter. Mexican-Americans in Southwest Labor Markets. Advance Report No 10 of the Mexican-American Study Project. Los Angeles: Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, 1967.

Detailed study of the Mexican-American, including a general description of his labor market position in the southwest, differences in the economic position of Mexican-Americans, intergenerational labor market experiences, geographic mobility, relative earnings, and comparison with other disadvantaged minorities.

A.1. The labor market experience of Mexican-American males is less favorable than white males when comparing incomes, occupations, and employment indicators. The experience of the female is better than the male.

2. Their position is better than that of Negroes and other non-whites.
3. The labor market position of urban Mexican-Americans varies from state to state: best in California, worst in Texas.
4. The incidence of high achievement in incomes and occupations almost doubles between the first and second generation, but generally does not advance much in the third.

B.1. It will take a long time to close the economic gap between Mexican-Americans and the white population.

2. Several reasons for their disadvantaged position: Low job qualifications, especially low level of educational attainment and inadequate command of the English language; residing in declining or slowly growing economic areas of the southwest; and discrimination.

Fuchel, Judith C. Motications1 Factors Influencing Persistence in Teaching as Revealed by Interviews. City University of New York, September 1966.

A four-part longitudinal study was reported of teacher persistence of certain college graduates based on 4 follow-up questionnaires to find why teachers leave classroom service.

A.1. Financial status was related to persistence.
   2. The husband's attitude was not decisive in determining if his wife continued to teach.
   3. The person's extent of involvement with home or community work was related to non-persistence.
   4. Most women entered the teaching profession by default.

Implications and possible solutions to the problem of non-persistence.

Geismar, Ludwig & Gerhart, Ursula C. Social Class, Ethnicity and Family Functioning: Exploring Some Issues Raised by the Moynihan Report. Journal of the Marriage and the Family, Vol. 30, No. 3, August 1968.

Study of white, Negro and Puerto Ricans to determine that social status overshadows ethnicity in determining the nature of family functioning on the potential of the family environment for supplying a positive socializing experience for children.

A.1. A sharp contrast in the level of functioning became evident among the three ethnic groups. 66% of the Negroes, 46% of the Puerto Ricans, and only 16% of the whites, reveal problematic family functioning.
   2. Controlling for socio-economic factors nearly eliminates variances attributable to race.
   3. Family's ability to carry out their socially expected roles is not based solely on economic opportunity but rather on a group's response to such opportunity or lack of it, level of job expectations, etc.
   4. Interplay of social, economic, and psychological factors rather than the operation of any one of them determines the social functioning of families in various ethnic groups.

C.1. Any attempt to change social functioning patterns must address itself to the broad array of factors which explain the given situation.
   2. Major changes in the Negro's position in society call for massive action in areas of jobs, education, housing, and civil rights.
   3. Making the Negro family a special target of social action separate from a massive attack on the socio-economic structure of American society would not only be futile but would stigmatize the Negro.

Goldstein, Bernard. Low Income Youth in Urban Areas: A Critical Review of the Literature. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.

Discussion of occupational aspirations and early work experience.

B.1. Working class youths seem less likely to aspire to the professions, and consequently, to a college education.

B.2. One study argues that the importance of post-high school experiences is more significant in careers than much school experience except for the level of school achievement.
3. It may be that working class youths are not as optimistic as higher placed youths--the gap between aspirations and expectations may be greater--but the evidence is not conclusive.
4. The role of school climates is equal or possibly greater than the influence of family background in shaping future orientation.
5. Considerable research on individual values and goals, and their relationship to such factors as family background and peer relations.
6. Apart from using father's occupation as a measure of status, relatively little concern with what that occupation means to the family and how this configuration affects the children's definition of occupations.
7. Relative lack of knowledge about how the school passes on values, attitudes, and beliefs about work.
8. One study reports that neither school guidance counselors nor employment service personnel are significant in the job-hunting efforts of their respondents.
9. A study by the National Committee on Employment of Youth contributed some understanding of the opportunity structure facing working class youths.

Greer, Scott. The Citizen in the Urban Worlds, in a section entitled The City as a Social, Psychological and Physical Environment, in Lindenfeld, Frank (Ed.) Radical Perspectives on Social Problems, Macmillan, 1968.

This challenges the stereotype that the city is anonymous and fragmented. It is generally based on the research of the author in Los Angeles and other corroborative studies.

B.1. Statements on the urban family.
   a. The conjugal family is dominant, powerful and encourages dependency in lieu of a primary community. It is relatively free-floating.
   b. By and large the conjugal family keeps to itself--outside includes formal organisations, work and the communities.
   c. There is little participation in formal organisations or the community.
   d. It has a very wide choice of life style it wishes to pursue, the many different types of families tend to congregate together.
   e. The more familistic the neighborhood, the more involvement in it, but even then it is not great.
2. The typical small New England community no longer exists as such in the metropolis. It is a 'community of limited liability' (Janowitz)--the individuals' investment in it is relatively small and he can withdraw at will.
3. The democratic ideology of the society is not accurate--democratic social processes are relatively rare.
   a. Organisations (including schools) tend to be professionally led with little participation by the community except for the veto used occasionally.
   b. The local area in the inner city is not at all a community;

in the suburbs it is a community 'of limited liability'.

B.3. c. Formal government is highly bureaucratic and there is little individual preoccupation.

d. The organisation of work is non-democratic.

4. The individual in this picture has freedoms concerning life-style and leisure, but they do not have interest or involvement in the life of the community.

'Perhaps a revision downwards, toward effective communities of limited liability and effective plebiscites might be more congruent with the organisational structure of large scale society'.

Griffiths, Daniel E. et al. Teacher Mobility in New York City - A Study of the Recruitment, Selection, Appointment and Promotion of Teachers in the New York Public Schools. New York University, October 1963.

Data was gathered on teacher perceptions of personnel practices. A sample of 1,025 New York city teachers was interviewed. To study career patterns a cohort study was made of the records of 413 teachers first hired by the city in 1950. Educational officials in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Philadelphia were interviewed.

A.1. Formal recruitment procedures were ineffective.
2. Major reasons for joining included location, income, hours, vacations, knowing teachers in the system and advice of college guidance personnel.
3. Academic high school teachers had both the highest turn-over rate and the greatest proportion planning to enter administrations.
4. Most teachers came from New York city.
5. Promotion examinations were held to be unsatisfactory because of lack of measurement of 'real' abilities, ethnic discrimination, examiner bias, and failure to help retain good people. Belief in the examinations increased with years of service.
6. Staffs are more closely integrated than student bodies.

C.1. Improve record keeping to make personnel information readily available.
2. Initiate a comprehensive study of the functions of the board of examiners.

Gurin, Patricia & Epps, E. Some characteristics of students from poverty backgrounds attending predominantly Negro colleges in the deep South, Social Forces, Vol. 45, No. 1, 1966.

Questionnaire study of upperclassmen from 11 colleges.

A.1. Importance of non-family members on decision to go to college (usually high school teachers, varies inversely with family income, regardless of family structure (inactness)).
2. Influence of father in decisions to go to college decreases with income.
3. Peer influence varies with income.
4. No relationship between income and incentive value or importance of college among the poor.
5. Motivational difference related to perceptions of chances for

success.

A.6. Differences in risk-taking between income groups only found in income related experiences, e.g. poor less willing to test travel related risks.

B.1. High school teachers can be very influential with poor students' decision to go to college.

Horn, Ethel. Teachers who Remain in the Classroom - An Interview Study of Persisting Teachers, City University of New York, March 1966.

To identify factors associated with persistence in teaching and to supplement a further study. 210 graduates were interviewed.

A.1. Sex, marital status and age of children are the dominating factors in teacher persistence.

2. The sample was strikingly homogeneous in their family background, in their self-description of childhood qualities, and in their source of attraction to teaching, e.g. admiration for their early teachers.

3. They experienced reality shock in their early teaching experience which they attributed to inadequate methods courses in their training programs.

4. Most women expected to remain in classroom teaching while many of the men expected to become principals.

5. Variables unrelated to persistence were grade level taught, level of morale, and differing educational philosophy.

6. Interviewees recommended that teachers be included in curriculum planning rather than being merely passive recipients of orders from outside experts and superiors.

Jackson, L.P. Poverty's Children. The Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington D.C., March 1962.

Survey study of child rearing of low-income families and a plea against stereotypes.

A.1. Low income families know standards of acceptable behavior and attach stigma to illegitimacy.

2. High Negro illegitimacy rate not due to family patterns of slavery but a response to:
   a. urbanization,
   b. social and economic deprivation of Negroes.

3. This results in unskilled Negro males inability to be a good provider and improved child-rearing climate when the mother separates from 'a no good man'.

C.1. Guidance should be given to 'preclinical families' at little cost to the community, before the problems become great.

2. Professionals should approach the poor with fewer prejudices and prejudgements.

3. Stress should be an adaptation of the poor to American life.

Jeffers, Cammille. Living Poor, Ann Arbor, Ann Arbor Publishers, 1967.

This book is a graphic description of the numerous ways in which a wide range of families tried to cope with the contingencies of poverty and the many demands of living in a public housing project. It is based on the personal experiences of the author. Focus is on child rearing, housekeeping, recreation, and attitudes toward marriage.

B.1. Parents who are poor know what they want for their children.
2. Patterns of social differentiation are at least partially based on the differences in the extent to which families think they have the potential to escape public housing.
3. Insufficient funds lead to continuous shuffling of priorities in child rearing.
4. Certain behaviors are better described as contingency-oriented rather than present-oriented.
5. Problem behavior is related to mood which, in turn, is related to the presence or absence of money.
6. The older child is more likely to be isolated.
7. Family environment, as it affects child-rearing, may vary markedly over relatively brief periods.
8. The lives of poor families are marked by extreme loneliness.
9. Families with lowest and most irregular incomes develop extensive adaptive networks of communication to facilitate the exchange of goods and services.

Mackler, Bernard & Giddings, Morsley G. Cultural Deprivation: A Study in Mythology. In Dentler, R.A., Mackler, B. & Warshauer, M.E. (Eds.) The Urban R's, published for the Centre of Urban Education by Praeger, 1967.

A plea to be careful with the use of cultural deprivation and misconceptions that accompany it.

B.1. Children from disadvantaged areas are disadvantaged for an academic environment.
2. Cultural deprivation is used to explain failure.
3. Today parents of disadvantaged children are more interested in what education can give their children; they are not necessarily anti-intellectual.
4. Cultural deprivation is a contradiction in terms--a culture cannot be deprived by definition.
5. The idea of cultural deprivation as commonly used then, has a subjective connotation of ethnocentrism by the dominant culture. It emphasises the dominance of the white culture.
6. It is a misconception to assume that deprivation leads to one universal reaction--that of failure; people do succeed. Theory must allow for this.
7. Tags such as cultural deprivation reinforce the 'shadow of slavery' and the myth that Negro children are inherently inferior.
8. Some disadvantaged can do very well in science--these must be identified and their talent utilised.

C.1. Teachers must not be put off by the term and its connotations.

C.2. They must look more closely at these people and help them to alter themselves and alter their circumstances.
3. "To start on this road we must purge ourselves of the concept 'cultural deprivation' and all its derogatory implications."

Marans, Allen E., M.D. & Lourie, Reginald, M.D. Hypothesis regarding the Effects of Child-Rearing Patterns on the Disadvantaged Child. Disadvantaged Child, Vol. I. Jerome Hellmuth, editor, Special Child Publications, Seattle Sequin School Inc., Seattle, Washington, 1967.

The effects of the various aspects of child-rearing patterns, which are culturally determined, on the disadvantaged child. The basic hypothesis was that these child-rearing patterns are shared by a certain segment of the lower socio-economic group, and that these patterns are more common among all the lowest socio-economic groups (whites, Negroes, Mexican-Americans etc.) than among any other groups, and therefore will be more evident in slum families.

C.1. Necessity of intervening early in children's lives to interrupt the poverty cycle.
2. Need to determine the most practical way of augmenting the good qualities provided by the slum mother for her child.
3. Diagnostic approach required to secure a descriptive profile of the babies' strengths, sensitivities, activity levels, reactivity patterns and parental and environmental compatibilities and incompatibilities.
4. This will enable the development of a specialized prophylactic-therapeutic program in collaboration with the parents.
5. Training curricula should be developed to provide the necessary staffs.
6. Need for massive programs and techniques to detect these children.
7. Research on the effects of intervention should be an essential element of every program design.

Mattick, Ilse. Description of the children. In Pavenstedt, Eleanor, (Ed.) The Drifters: Chidren of Disorganized Lower Class Families, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1967.

Description and analysis of child behavior in a Boston nursery school based on intensive study of each child as an individual and as a group member.

Data were organized into categories which would yield information about the children when they first entered nursery school and their progress over a period of time. Behavioral characteristics studied include outward appearance, motor abilities, self-image, coping with daily living, capacity for relationships, and language and cognitive development.

A.1. Although the children showed many individual characteristics, they shared some traits.
2. Although some aspects of their behavior and formal testing revealed age differences, their developmental deviancies were similar regardless of age.

A.3. Nursery school children of disorganized families frequently used their bodies for diffuse discharge and avoidance, with little focus on the pleasures of attaining mastery.
4. The behavior of nursery school children of disorganized families indicated low self-esteem.
5. Their prevalent mode of coping with daily living was defensive rather than aggressive.
6. Their characteristic relationships to people were need-oriented, distrustful, shallow, and non-specific.
7. Vocabularies of nursery school children of disorganized families were limited and speech was often incomprehensible.
8. Communication was often effected by means other than language.
9. Nursery school children of disorganized families showed marked deviation in cognition with an overreliance on concrete action and a paucity of abstract thought.
10. The capacity of each child to focus on activities was very limited.

Melville, Robert S. What are the Factors which Enhance or Retard Educational Achievement of Navajo Indian Students in the Sevier School District.

A study to identify the factors which enhance or retard the educational achievement of Navajo Indian students in Utah. 97 students were selected for purposes of this study. The factors hypothesized were mental ability, reading ability, level of anxiety, self-concept, achievement motivation, verbal concept choice, and interaction with the dominant culture.
Areas of study were:
a. Historial records for information on education of Navajo Indians.
b. The difference between the Navajo and their non-Navajo classmates in each of the selected factors.
c. Relationship of these factors to the academic achievement of the Navajos.

A.1. Reading ability exerted greatest influence over the academic achievement of the Navajo students.
2. Mental ability and interaction with the dominant culture were other factors.
3. The presence and intensity of the achievement motive was a factor of little significance, while the level of anxiety and the self-concept neither enhanced nor retarded the academic achievement of Navajos.
4. More factors affected the academic achievement of non-Navajo than of Navajo students.
C.1. Many aspects of this study have implications for research in the education of minority ethnic groups.

Mittlebach, Frank G. & Marshall, Grace. The Burden of Poverty, Mexican-American Study Project. Advance Report S., University of California, Graduate School of Business Administration, Los Angeles.

Hoping to bring the poverty of the Mexican-Americans in the southwestern United States to the attention of the public, the authors detail the prevalence of poverty among Mexican-Americans, its general characteristics, and suggestions for its alleviation.

A.1. Mexican-Americans constitute the second largest disadvantaged minority, numbering four million.
  2. 30-40% of them lie below the poverty line.

B.1. They have characteristics similar to the poor in the other areas of the country.
  2. There is high concentration in urban areas.

C.1. It would be helpful to consider whether societal institutions produce and perpetuate poverty among minorities.
  2. Public-supported schooling and manpower training to help individuals and deprived groups overcome specific handicaps to increase their earning capacity is more useful than traditional welfare and anti-poverty programs.
  3. Modern education must be tailored to fit individual needs.
  4. Various questions that need to be answered are: Does poor education result from poor schools, the low social value of education, a pressing need for a job because of the parents' poverty, or the youngster's expectations of low-payoff from better education as they observe discrimination in the labor market?

Parnice, Edward, A. Formal Education and Culture Change: A Modern Apache Indian Community and Government Education Programs. Tuscon, The University of Arizona Press, 1968.

Education, when used to impose cultural change, can create serious conflicts in the minority society. An assessment of the 1959-61 education program for Apaches on the San Carlos reservation.

A.1. Social conflict; economic deprivation, and cultural instability are problems in Indian education.
  2. Three factors were identified as contributing to educational problems of Apache teenagers. The factors are: community, family and school.
  3. Community: Serious unemployment problems and poverty; little involvement of Apaches in operating the education program led to parental apathy and indifference.
  4. Family: Welfare programs to supplement low incomes could have been improved by financial planning help. While the traditional system of family authority was breaking down, the tribal court discipline often proved damaging to teenagers.
  5. School: Inadequate solution of basic language problems.
     a. Serious deficiencies in teaching techniques, and teachers seldom understood the children's home environment.
     b. Boarding schools isolated Apaches from non-Indians; they had low academic standards; and were not prepared to cope with the emotionally disturbed.
     c. Conflict of goals between retention of tribal identity and assimilation into Anglo-American life.
     d. In failing to see the positives of education, less educated Apaches directly influenced their children's thinking.

B.1. The program was unsuccessful in educating and integrating the children into the mainstream of American life.

Pavalko, Ronald M. Aspirants to Teaching. Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 50, No. 1, October 1965.

The author looks for social background characteristics of high school seniors who plan on becoming teachers. 881 seniors were taken from a random sample of one-third of the 1957 seniors in Wisconsin. Boys and girls who chose teaching were compared with those who did not, and with each other.

A.1. Girls planning to become teachers come from higher socio-economic origins than do the boys.
2. Rural youths plan on becoming teachers twice as often as their urban counterparts.
3. Teaching attracts a small portion of the most able boys of high school seniors in Wisconsin.

B.1. Teaching seems to be an important avenue of upward mobility for the lower classes.

Podell, Lawrence. Kinship, Friendship, and Citizenship. Families on Welfare in New York City. Preliminary Report No. 7, Center for Social Research, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1968.

Report of a study of various aspects of the lives of welfare mothers in New York City. Their educational aspirations with regard to their children; presence of kinsmen and friends; availability of help in times of illness; their worries; and their views on the neighborhood where they lived were studied.

A.1. 56% of the welfare mothers had children in school.
   a. Nearly six out of ten believed their children's performance was good or very good.
   b. Only 8% felt that teachers made themselves unapproachable.
   c. A third sometimes kept children home from school to help out. 30% did so because they were ashamed of the way their children were dressed.
   d. Eight in ten expected their children to finish school, and one-fifth expected them to go on to college.
2. Only half wanted their children to enter professional occupations, but only three out of ten expected them to do so.
3. The more education the mother had, the greater her expectations for her children.
4. a. Over half had someone, a relative or a friend, to turn to with their worries.
   b. Seven in ten had relatives in New York City; almost half had kin in the same neighborhood.
5. Seven in ten had neighbors who helped each other out in times of illness, and six in ten had mutual child care arrangements with neighbors.
6. About a quarter of the mothers lived in their neighborhoods less than one year. Another quarter lived between one and three years.
   a. One in four rated the neighborhood as bad or very bad.
   b. While one in five was afraid outside the neighborhood.
7. a. Nearly six out of ten worried about their own and their children's health.
   b. Over four out of ten worried about things happening in the

neighborhood.

A.7.c. Over three-quarters worried about money and getting ahead.

8. Eight percent of families on welfare in April 1966 were not on public assistance rolls in April 1967.

B.1. More likely to be off welfare a year later were families with husbands--fathers in the household, especially those who were white and in which the parents had more education, fewer children and/or employable wives--mothers.

Riesman, David. The Suburban Dislocation, in section entitled The City as Social, Physical and Psychological Environment, in Lindenfield, Frank (Ed.) Radical Perspectives on Social Problems, Macmillan, 1968.

Compares the state of the nation with Goodman's 1947 book entitled Communitas.

B.1. The present American experience solves problems by addition. that is, more of the same will provide the answer.

2. There is a tacit revolt against industrialism--the aspirations of individuals are more related to luxury and outside criteria than rising in the factory.

3. There is a move to suburbia, domesticity and peace--the escape from the inner city. Men are seekers after the good life in the suburbs for themselves--growing homogenisation of roles is occurring.

4. In suburbs people are so like-minded that loss of stimulation may mean the loss of motivation for cultural and intellectual advance.

5. Because the middle class man has greater leisure, he has the time to demand more of the service of the professionals, and so the professionals' leisure time is reduced.

6. There is a certain aimlessness in suburban life--both in the facelessness of work and leisure. We have learnt new needs.

7. More work is probably necessary to occupy us because we have not discovered appropriate ways to occupy our leisure--'our inventiveness has not found ways of relating masses of men to creative activity or to each other outside of work'.

Roberts, Joan I. (Ed.) Westend and Crestwood Heights, in School Children in the Urban Slum, Free Press, 1967.

A comparison of two sub-cultures in an urban setting in terms of their attitude to work, family organisation, transmission of culture and mate selection. An upper middle and lower class comparison.

A.1. Attitude to work and outside institutions.

a. West Enders (2nd generation Italians):

i. Family and peer group clearly distinguished from the outside world.

ii. Other institutions pose threats to the group's cohesion and there is fear of exploitation.

iii. They reject values of work and self-improvement for social mobility including education.

iv. aspiration for higher status considered disruptive--

they reject the values and the institutions of the middle class.

b. Crestwood Heights (American upper middle class):
    i. Public and private world closely related--children taught to value mobility upward and to work for it through all means.
    ii. Outside institutions used to achieve these goals.

A.2. Family Organisation.
  a. Westenders: Children taught to value and continue in values of family. Middle class values are threatening as are their institutions. Family system is a peer group system. Commitment is to present rather than future--extended and local.
  b. Crestwood Heights: Future and achievement orientation and autonomy encouraged in children. The family is nuclear. The local community if of vital help in this.
3. Mate Selection: Both groups ensure by formal and informal processes that there is a continuity of cultural tradition in children's marriage choices.
4. Transmission of culture: Both groups take considerable pains to ensure cultural purity.

Roderiquez, Armando M. Speak Up, Chicano. American Education, Vol. 4, No. 5, May 1968.

This report results from the author's visit to 17 Mexican-American communities in the southwest to learn what the people want and need and in what priority.

B.1. Although the federal government is seeking to assist these people, there is a spirit among the young people in these communities and an unwillingness to accept the status quo.
2. Major obstacles remain in the way of Chicano's progress toward educational equality inspite of various programs which have been introduced to meet his special needs, for example, creation of specialized educational programs, linguistic techniques, etc.
3. Shortage of teachers who are aware of their cultural background, who recognize their language as an asset, and who are therefore qualified to cope with the situation of the Chicanos.
4. Lack of well-oriented curriculums.
5. There was no school district whose curriculum correlated with the needs of Mexican-Americans from kindergarten through high school.
6. Lack of models of successful American-Mexicans that can be emulated is another obstacle to the Chicano's educational success.
7. In the near future the Mexican-American will become a more productive member of society, and his cultural and linguistic heritage will be turned to good use.
8. The Chicano will do what is necessary in his fight for equality.

Shannon, L.W. & Shannon, M. Assimilation of Migrants to Cities, in Leo F. Schnore (Ed.) *Social Science and the City: A Survey of Urban Research*, Praeger, 1968.

A brief research-based review of the ongoing problem of migration within the United States of Mexican-Americans, Negroes or southern whites who lack skills to enable them to be satisfactorily absorbed into the city and its culture.

A.1. a. Migration to northern cities is increasing from southern whites, Negroes, Mexican-Americans.
b. They tend to move to the inner city where there are abundant problems already, e.g. employment possibilities going elsewhere.
c. There are less and less opportunities in industry for unskilled people.

B.1. Assimilation is the end of a process from which an individual migrant has come to be indistinguishable from the rest; acculturation is the stage where behavioral patterns similar to those of the whole society are adopted and their beliefs are accepted. Assimilation probably requires:
a. Integration into the economic institution.
b. Acculturation.
c. Personal adjustment.

2. Determinants of the Process: Assimilation takes place if:
a. Migration to the city has been early in a person's lifetime.
b. Migrant interaction with members of the host society is frequent.
c. Interaction is intense.
d. Contact is carried over a lengthy period of time.
e. The social distance is not so great that the lower status person cannot conceive of himself in the position of the upper status person.
f. The role of the interaction initiator is favourably defined by the lower status person.
g. Consequences of past action are defined as favourable by the migrant.
h. The migrant anticipates favourable consequences from interaction.

Other key factors include; whether or not the migrant has a language barrier, and what contact they have with institutions of a wider society.

C.1. Have social workers more easily in contact with these people.
2. Watch the employment problem closely.
3. Tap informal methods of communication.
4. Certain types of extension work for new arrivals might best be carried out in places other than schools.

Warden, Sandra A. The Developmental Process and the Role of the Family, in *The Leftouts*, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

The book is primarily interested in compensatory education for children who are in some way disadvantaged and are going to heterogeneous schools and brings to bear psychological, sociological and social psychological research on the problem.

This article deals with the nature of developmental thinking and the role of parents and their influence on this process.

A.1. The developmental process in children is central in much current thinking by Bruner, Piaget and Hunt, and emphasis is placed on earlier years as strategic.
  2. The role of the family in this process:
    a. Elements of family environments that are most significant in influencing intelligence (as measured), school achievement and social acceptance are: providing the tools, stimulation, opportunity and reinforcement for general learning; providing role models for social learning; providing help and guidance in language development; providing stimulation, concern and support for achievement and learning outside the home; and if the family fails to provide these experiences, or does so inadequately, the child is indeed disadvantaged.
  3. Importance of languge.
    a. Language acquisition and development of conceptual thinking are inter-dependent.
    b. Proper language basis for achieving status with teachers and others.
    c. Lack of language facility is a possible cause of disadvantagement and failure.
  4. Child rearing and development. There is little specific evidence, but warm-permissive, rewarding approaches have a significant impact.
  5. The role of the father is very important in personality development.
    a. Serves as authority figure.
    b. Serves as sex role model.
    c. Influences achievement motivation.
    d. Agent of morality training.
    e. Absence has most affect on boys.
B.1. Best family setting for development is 'verbally oriented, close, warm, supportive and continuous relationship with both parents'.
  2. Some evidence that lower socio-economic groups have reduced parental influence--this may be important in the development of the child.

Warden, Sandra A. Social and Emotional Adjustment in School: The Role of Peers and Self Concept, in The Leftouts, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

The basic thesis of this chapter seems to be that a low level of self-esteem may be another possible cause of the leftout's disadvantage, and that heightening his self-esteem through peers is valuable for compensation.

B.1. An acceptable social status is important for satisfactory emotional adjustment.
  2. Children are strongly influenced by peers' expectations, values, etc.
  3. People in the school sub-system can have important influence

on the leftout's adjustment and his developing self-concept.

B.4. Social acceptance and emotional adjustment are positively related.

5. Status deprivation by teachers and peers may be another cause of deprivation. Therefore quality and quantity of children's interaction with age-mates and teachers is vital to the whole problem.
6. The peer group is especially important as a socialising agency if the child has a background of socio-economic deprivation and/or lack of warm close relations with his family. Therefore the child may change his behaviors or try to change his reference groups.
7. Strong evidence that heterogeneous school situation with a value climate of achievement orientation is the best one for fostering acculturation and social assimilation.
8. Considerable anxiety over poor social relations and self-perception of achievement inadequacy may be cognitively crippling. (Note; this anxiety can be used to help him overcome his problems.)
9. The more these adverse factors interplay, the greater the difficulty seems to be for the child in adjusting adequately.

SECTION III

In this section, the information contained in the Section II abstracts has been collated and organised. This has been done by initially sorting the items under broad, content defined, headings. They are:

1. Poverty
2. Slums and ghettos
3. Social class
4. Unemployment
5. Women on welfare
6. Social mobility
7. Disorganised lower class families
8. Race
9. Identified ethnic groups: Negroes
10. Negro adolescents and youth
11. Identified ethnic groups: a) Mexicans, b) Indians
12. Tests and ethnic background
13. Inequality of opportunity in ethnic minorities
14. Anti-poverty programs
15. Training and re-training programs
16. Drop-outs and training programs
17. The disadvantaged child
18. Lower class adolescent
19. Educational strategies and the poor
20. Educational programs for the disadvantaged
21. Desegregation in schools
22. Counselling the disadvantaged
23. Montessori and the disadvantaged
24. Delinquency
25. Riots.

The selection of categories and their ordering has some force validity. Each of the headings refers to a domain that is recognised as having relevance to the disadvantaged condition and to the education of disadvantaged children. Furthermore, the topics are grouped around common themes and are ordered (with the exception of the last two) in terms of their increasing educational specificity. Thus the initial section deals with the broad general topic of slums and poverty. The next section is concerned with job related aspects and social class. The third focusses on ethnic factors and the fourth on general remediation programs. The fifth then directs attention to the disadvantaged child and leads logically, into a consideration of educational programs. Finally, two extreme conditions of social disassociation--riots and delinquency--come under scrutiny.

1. Poverty

A. Correlates of poverty

1. Ethnicity (Mittelbach & Short, 1967)
2. Environment (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968)
3. Socio-economic conditions (Dentler, 1967) (Mittelbach & Short, 1967)
4. Price and income (Dentler, 1967)
5. Levels of living (Dentler, 1967)
6. Politics (Dentler, 1967)
7. Middle class behavior (Valentine, 1969)

B. Determinants

1. Concentration of Negroes in the South (Ginzberg, 1966)
2. Rural concentration (Ginzberg, 1966)
3. The agricultural revolution (Ginzberg, 1966)
4. Lack of education (Ginzberg, 1966)
5. Excessive birth rate (Ginzberg, 1966)
6. Illegitimacy (Ginzberg, 1966)
7. Rise in the number of persons on welfare (Willie, 1969)
8. Worsening conditions of life in slums in large cities (Moynihan, 1967)
9. Drop-outs (Ginzberg, 1968)

C. Types

1. Transitional and non-transitional (Sutton, 1968)
2. Physical and psychological (Time, 1968)
3. Intergenerational poverty (Willie, 1969)
4. Four types of poor--the stable, the strained, the copers, and the unstable (Glazer & Creedon, 1969)

D. Characteristics

1. Urban (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968) (Moynihan, 1967)
2. Negro and other ethnic minorities (Eaton, 1968) (Ginsberg, 1966) (Moynihan, 1967) (Rein & Miller, 1966) (Willie, 1969)
3. Large and broken families (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968) (Ginsberg, 1966) (Moynihan, 1967) (Orshansky, 1965)
4. Urbanized and cultural proletariat (Moynihan, 1967)
5. Rooted in American institutional system (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968) (Willie, 1969)
6. Culture of poverty and sub-culture of poverty (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968) (Roach & Gursslin, 1967)
7. Sociological characteristics apart from economic factors (Ornati,1967)
8. Relative concentration in depressed areas (Eaton, 1968) (Somers, 1967)
9. Perpetuation in families in the depressed areas (Somers,1967)
10. Difficult job market (Moynihan, 1967)
11. Bulk of the poor are outside labor market (Ornati,1967)
12. Aged (Eaton, 1968) (Ornati,1967) (Orshansky, 1965) (Somers, 1967)
13. Children (Orshansky, 1965)

E. Causes

1. Inferior education (Ginsberg, 1968) (Hersey, 1965)
2. Automation (Ornati, 1966) (Ornati, 1967)
3. American social welfare system (Moynihan, 1967)
4. Racial discrimination (Ginsberg, 1968) (Willie, 1969)
5. Short-term jobs (Orshansky, 1965)
6. Low paid jobs (Orshansky, 1965) (Somers, 1967)
7. Family instability (Willie, 1969)
8. Many dependents (Orshansky, 1965)
9. Changing social standards--general upgrading in the requirements for participation in society (Ornati, 1967)
10. Changes in employment demands (Ornati, 1966)
11. Institutional arrangements (Willie, 1969) (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968) (Glazer & Creedon, 1968)
12. Political and economic organization of a society designed for conditions of scarcity and the ethics of work and profits (Dentler, 1967)
13. Lack of skills (Ornati, 1966)
14. Inadequacies in the operations of social systems (Willie, 1969)

F. Effects

1. Delinquency (Ginzberg, 1968)
2. Crime (Ginsberg, 1968)
3. Anxiety (Dentler, 1967)
4. Failure (Dentler, 1967)
5. Illiteracy and ignorance (Dentler, 1967)
6. Morbidity and premature mortality (Dentler, 1967)
7. Blighted communities (Dentler, 1967)
8. Pathology (Dentler, 1967)
9. Deficits in skills necessary for school learning (Deutsch, 1967)
10. Localized view of the world (Capener, 1966)
11. Suspicion of outsiders (Capener, 1966)
12. Resignation to harsh environment (Capener, 1966)
13. Work orientation to earning and spending money (Capener, 1966)
14. Dependence upon religion (Capener, 1966)
15. Low self-esteem (Capener, 1966)
16. Quick resort to physical punishment (Capener, 1966)
17. Adult roles in childhood (Capener, 1966)
18. Limited aspiration and risk-taking.

G. Remedies

1. Understanding the deficits in skills of children (Deutsch, 1967)
2. Planned pre-school programs (Deutsch, 1967)
3. Earlier educational programs followed by vocational training, cultural enrichment and ultimate employment (*Time*, 1968)
4. Change in teacher's attitudes (Deutsch, 1967)
5. Increase in educational level (Somers, 1967)
6. Reorganization of schools (Hersey, 1965)
7. Radical new educational approaches (Ornati, 1967) (Hersey, 1965) (*Time*, 1968)
8. Intervention (Ginsberg, 1968)
9. More per capita expenditure on schools attended by the poor (Ginzberg, 1966)
10. Detailed study of slum life (Moynihan, 1967) (Valentine, 1969)
11. Slum rebuilding (Ornati, 1967)
12. Access to health services and better medical care (Ginzberg, 1968) (*Time*, 1968)
13. Health insurance (Ornati, 1967)

14. Income redistribution (Moynihan, 1967)
15. Guaranteed annual wage (Time, 1968)
16. Negative income tax (Time, 1968)
17. Upgrading the income of those in poverty categories (Rein & Miller, 1966)
18. Availability of jobs--especially in government-supported projects (Time, 1968) (Ginzberg, 1966)
19. Training and retraining (Sutton, 1968) (Ornati, 1967) (Ginzberg, 1968) (Time, 1968)
20. Raising the level of skill (Somers, 1967)
21. Reconstruction of the personal patrimony with which the poor face the labor market outside their neighborhoods.
22. Identification of environmental aspects (Deutsch, 1967)
23. Enlistment of the poor against the war on poverty (Hersey, 1965) (Olinsky, 1967)
24. Cooperation of various community agencies, business and local leadership (Hersey, 1965)
25. Revolution in attitudes (Hersey, 1965)
26. Changes in entrenched patterns (Bloomberg & Schmandt, 1968) (Glazer & Creedon, 1969) (Willie, 1969)
27. Systematic changes--social change (Eaton, 1968)
28. Improved public transportation (Ginzberg, 1968)
29. Availability of day-care centers (Ginzberg, 1968)
30. Identification of persisting patterns of unequal opportunity and elimination of discrimination (Willie, 1969) (Eaton, 1968)
31. Civil rights (Ornati, 1967)
32. Formation of Negro self-help organization (Ginzberg, 1966)
33. Development of welfare agencies (Eaton, 1968)
34. Planning for mobile people who form a growing proportion of the population of every urban center (Eaton, 1968)
35. Upward mobility instead of improved standard of living (Eaton, 1968)
36. New ethnographic research by anthropologists (Valentine, 1969)
37. Special rights and positive discrimination in favour of the disadvantaged.
38. Psychiatric concepts in the field of mass mechanics (Olinsky, 1967)
39. Use of home economists to kindle interest in self-help (Olinsky, 1967)
40. Identification of the high-poverty risk people can facilitate remedial programs (Orshansky, 1965)
41. Community support (Rein & Miller, 1966)
42. All programs should fit together (Rein & Miller, 1966)
43. Poor need help in developing their personal assets (Ornati, 1966)

2. Slums and Ghettos

A. Characteristics of slum children

1. Engulfed by hostile and destructive environments (Ryan, 1966)
2. No respect for property (Ryan, 1966)
3. Lack of trust (for whites, family or neighborhood) (Coles, 1968)
4. Careful and calculating (Coles, 1968)
5. Disease and pain taken for granted (Coles, 1968)
6. Stubborn (Coles, 1968)
7. Recalcitrant (Pavenstedt, 1967)
8. Over-pessimistic (Coles, 1968)
9. Attempted mastery of fear through flight (Pavenstedt, 1967)
10. Cognition process literal, unimaginative and poorly organized (Pavenstedt, 1967)
11. Small vocabularies (Ryan, 1966)
12. Emotionally deprived (Pavenstedt, 1967)
13. Shouted at and beaten up very often (Pavenstedt, 1967)
14. Quiet, accepting and fearful (Coles, 1968)
15. Every word preached at them sounds foolish (Coles, 1968)
16. Mothers are living proof of some terrible nightmare (Coles, 1968)

B. School and the slum children

1. School meaningless (Coles, 1968)
2. Heightens feelings of hopelessness (Coles, 1968)
3. Need to teach children to value themselves and things (Ryan, 1966)
4. Should make effective use of available materials (Ryan, 1966)
5. Expect children to learn (Pavenstedt, 1967)
6. Explain new terms and concepts (Ryan, 1966)
7. Racial prejudice dominates school officials (Carmichael et al, 1967)
8. Teachers are socialized by peers and superiors to accepting the notion of inferiority of slum children (Tucks, 1968)
9. Children are unable to relate to a teacher as a person (Ryan, 1966)
10. Aware of their hopeless environments by the time they arrive in school (Coles, 1968)
11. View school as a detention center (Coles, 1968)
12. Parents are hostile toward the teachers and the school system (Meier, 1968)
13. Average parent remains inactive in school issues (Meier, 1968)

C. Characteristics of slum life:

1. Cultural deprivation (Hill)
2. High infant mortality (Hill) (Lyford, 1966)
3. Inferior education (Carmichael et al, 1967) (Lewis, 1968) (Hill) (Levin, 1967)
4. Unemployment (Clark, 1965) (Hill) (Williams, 1967)
5. Desperate puritanism in families (Coles, 1968)
6. Negro (Brown et al, 1966) (Carmiachel et al, 1967) (Clark, 1965) (Lyford, 1966) (Stein, 1967)
7. Minorities (Lyford, 1966) (Stein, 1967) (Lewis, 1968)
8. Multi-problems and disorganized and unstable families (Clark, 1965) (Pavenstedt, 1967) (Stein, 1967)
9. Low income (Williams, 1967) (Lewis, 1968)
10. Hard-core poor (Williams, 1967)
11. Female-headed households (Williams, 1967)
12. Negro's oppressed lot has remained the same as in the South (Carmichael et al, 1967)
13. Poor housing (Carmichael et al, 1967) (Fried & Levin, 1968) (Lewis, 1968)
14. Lack of medical care (Coles, 1968)
15. Prostitution, dope pushing, and crimes of violence (Brown et al, 1966) (Clark, 1965)
16. Racial discrimination (Brown et al, 1966) (Clark, 1965) (Lewis, 1968)
17. Large families (Williams, 1967)
18. Inability to attain goals of other Americans (Brown et al, 1966)
19. Continuous police exploitation (Brown et al, 1966)
20. Social class (Brown et al, 1966)
21. Low aspiration (Clark, 1965)
22. Illegitimacy (Clark, 1965)
23. Economic underdevelopment (Rosen, 1968)
24. Lack of community (Lyford, 1966)
25. Lack of sense of belonging (Lyford, 1966)
26. Poverty and frustration (Lyford, 1966) (Williams, 1967)
27. Plurality of identities (Stein, 1967)
28. Inadequate mothering (Stein, 1967)
29. Isolated from mainstream of American life (Lyford, 1966) (Lewis, 1968)

30. Two major kinds of vertical mobility
    a. individuals and families moving into middle class neighborhoods (Stein, 1967)
    b. downward mobility for those forced into the slum (Stein, 1967)
31. Local labor market (Fried & Levin, 1968)
32. Transitional community (Fried & Levin, 1968)
33. Lawlessness (Lewis, 68)
34. Bitterness and disappointment (Brown et al, 1966)
35. Resentment on being treated as different by the outside world (Williams, 1968)
36. Unwilling to communicate with the outside world (Williams, 1968)

D. Causes of Riots (Carmichael et al, 1967)

1. Squalor of living conditions
2. No hope of escape
3. Intensity of summer heat
4. Callous attitudes of the representatives of the whites
5. Rebel out of desperation
6. Rejection of myth of Negro inferiority and demand equality (Brown et al, 1966)

E. Recommendations

1. Teachers must think positively (Clark, 1965) (Tuck, 1968)
2. Organize the poor (Lyford, 1966)
3. Planned rather than accidental civilization (Lyford, 1966)
4. Replace sub-standard housing (Hill)
5. Improve health facilities (Hill)
6. Improve educational facilities (Hill)
7. Public transportation (Hill)
8. Financing (Rosen, 1968)
9. Far-reaching social and economic changes (economic development) expanding economy to create a more favourable job market (Fried & Levin, 1968) (Pavenstedt, 1967) (Rosen, 1968)
10. Early intervention (Pavenstedt, 1967)
11. Study of entire poverty population (Pavenstedt, 1967)
12. Multiservice centers (Pavenstedt, 1967)
13. Collaboration of varied personnel (Pavenstedt, 1967) (Rosen, 1968)
14. Selective demolition and continuous upgrading of dilapidated housing (Fried & Levin, 1968)

15. Low rentals (Fried & Levin, 1968)
16. Re-adapt the goals of slum areas (Meltzer & Whitley, 1967)
17. Goals in a high order of specificity (Meltzer & Whitley, 1967)
18. Problem-solving orientated evaluation system (Meltzer & Whitley, 1967)
19. Attract dynamic leadership into urban renewal (Levin, 1967)
20. Technical expertise in universities in or near redevelopment areas (Levin, 1967)
21. Reshaping of cities (Brown et al, 1966)
22. Freer participation of whites and Negroes in country's affairs (Brown et al, 1966)
23. Understanding of what motivates the ghetto residents should not be based on middle class values (Williams, 1968)
24. Consult the natural leaders of the community (Brown et al, 1966) (Williams, 1968)
25. Respect Negroes as individuals (Brown et al, 1966) (Williams, 1968)
26. Educating the parents (Brown et al, 1966)
27. Provide an environment with trustworthy responsive adults (Pavenstedt, 1967)
28. Teacher should be aware of the social processes involved in inducing pupil failure (Tucks, 1968)

3. Social Class

A. Lower class family and the child

1. Standards of acceptable behavior (Jackson, 1962)
2. Attach stigma to illegitimacy (Jackson, 1962)
3. High Negro illegitimacy due to (a) urbanization and (b) social and economic deprivation (Jackson, 1962)
4. Social interaction rather than task completion (Chess et al, 1967)
5. Toys as a source of amusement (Chess et al, 1967)
6. No tolerance of nudity or sex behavior (Cahill, 1967)
7. Immediate obedience expected (Cahill, 1967)
8. Aggression toward parents not tolerated (Cahill, 1967)
9. Physical punishment swift and severe (Cahill, 1967)
10. Withdrawal of love never used (Cahill, 1967)
11. Insufficient funds lead to continuous shuffling of priorities in child-rearing (Jeffers, 1967)
12. Certain behaviors are better described as contingency-oriented than present-oriented (Jeffers, 1967)

13. Differences in basic training procedures like weaning, aggression, dependency, anxiety about sex by ethnic origin (Cahill, 1967)
14. Lack of pressures for achievement (Chess et al, 1967)
15. The lower class Negro father shares in family activities (Maxwell, 1968)
16. Problem behavior is related to mood which, in turn, is related to the presence or absence of money (Jeffers, 1967)
17. The older child is more likely to be isolated (Jeffers, 1967)
18. Their lives are marked by extreme loneliness (Jeffers, 1967)
19. The mother is a non-mother in the American sense of filling the child's needs with poise and efficiency (Alman, 1967)
20. Father far off from the American ideal (Alman, 1967)
21. Parents are ineffective in meeting the needs of the child (Alman, 1967)
22. His maturing years are characterized by the realization of his low market value (Alman, 1967)
23. Social and economic opportunities reduce opportunities for a stronger, more favourable self-image (Demak, 1967)

B. Middle class family

1. Emphasis on task orientation and task completion in play (Chess et al, 1967)
2. Interaction between parents and child (Chess et al, 1967)
3. Home atmosphere produces regular and systematic improvements in skill (Chess et al, 1967)
4. Toys as an educational source (Chess et al, 1967)

C. Purposes of study

1. Survey of child-rearing practices of low income families (Jackson, 1962)
2. Comparisons of psychological attributes of two groups of children of different ethnic and class background but with similar family stability (Chess et al, 1967)
3. The effects of child-rearing patterns, which are culturally determined, on the disadvantaged child (Marans & Lourie, 1967)
4. Role of ethnigeny and social class in determining child-rearing practices (Cahill, 1967)
5. Differences between middle and lower class children in the value they place on education (Demak, 1967)
6. Relationship between social class and individual development (Eisenberg, 1967)
7. Attitudes and actions toward education by social class (Cloward & Jones, 1965)

8. Implications of social stratification (Miller, 1968)
9. Relationship between personality and poverty (Allen, 1968)
10. Socialization process of the children of the poor (Alman, 1967)
11. Role of lower class Negro father in his family (Maxwell, 1968)
12. Unequal operation of selective service system in Wisconsin (Davis & Dolbeare, 1967)

C. Conclusions

1. Culture or sub-culture of poverty (Cahill, 1967)
2. Stronger influence of social class than of ethnogeny upon child-rearing practices as a whole (Cahill, 1967)
3. On the other hand, subtle differences in culture make it difficult to evaluate the relative influences of each (Cahill, 1967)
4. Lower class Negro children as committed to education as white middle class (Cahill, 1967)
5. Interplay of social, economic and psychological factors determines the social functioning of families in various ethnic groups (Geismar & Gerhart, 1968)
6. Family's ability to carry out socially expected roles is not based solely on economic opportunity (Geismar & Gerhart, 1968)
7. No inherited difference in intellectual potential by social class (Eisenberg, 1967)
8. School becomes the place where the lower class child discovers what he cannot do (Eisenberg, 1967)
9. The poor child receives an education which is middle class in content (Blau & Duncan, 1967)
10. Evaluation of the importance of education in lower and working classes is influenced by occupational aspirations (Cloward & Jones, 1966)
11. Participation in educational activities influences attitudes toward education particularly in lower class (Cloward & Jones, 1966)
12. The poor do not have a shorter time perspective (Allen, 1968)
13. Poverty is necessarily associated with a mere negative self-concept (Allen, 1968)
14. Differential cognitive function among social class groups (Allen, 1968)
15. Occupational aspirations differ according to socio-economic status.
16. Income no longer an adequate indicator of economic level (Miller, 1967)
17. Education is becoming crucial in social stratification as the major force in social mobility (Miller, 1967)

18. Role of school climate is equal or possibly greater than the influence of family background in shaping future orientation (Goldstein, 1967)
19. Lower class preference for legal marriage and legitimate childbirth and high educational aspirations indicates values consistant with middle class values (Rodman & Voydanoff, 1967)
20. Large proportions of low income areas see service and those from higher income qualify for deferment (Davis & Dolbeare, 1967)

E. Recommendations

1. Guidance (Jackson, 1962)
2. Professionals should approach the poor without prejudice and pre-judgement (Jackson, 1962)
3. Adaptation of poor to American life (Jackson, 1962)
4. Augment the good qualities provided by the slum mother for her child (Marans & Lourie, 1967)
5. Develop training curricula to provide the necessary staffs (Marans & Lourie, 1967)
6. Massive programs and techniques to detect the deprived children (Marans & Lourie, 1967)
7. Early intervention and research on the effects of intervention (Marans & Lourie, 1967)
8. Public should examine government welfare poverty policies (Alman, 1967)
9. Any attempt to change social functioning must address itself to the broad array of factors which explain the given situation (Geismar & Gerhart, 1968)
10. Massive action in the areas of jobs, education, housing and civil rights (Geismar & Gerhart, 1968)
11. Massive attack on the socio-economic structure of American society (Geismar & Gerhart, 1968)
12. The school should enable the child to develop a sense of competence (Eisenberg, 1967)
13. Information campaigns to low-income people about rapid changes in occupational structure (Cloward & Jones, 1966)
14. Programs to increase lower class participation in school (Cloward & Jones, 1966)
15. Children from large families should be helped to obtain better education to remove occupational disadvantages (Blau & Duncan, 1967)
16. Elimination of all but the most essential deferments, especially the student deferment, which is most discriminatory (Davis & Dolbeare, 1967)

4. Unemployment

(Including underemployment and sub-employment)

A. Characteristics of the unemployed

1. Concentration in slums (Department of Labor, 1968)
2. Teenagers (relatively young) (Bienstock, 1968) (Department of Labor Reports, 1968)
3. Income below the national average (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
4. Inferior education (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
5. Female -headed households (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
6. Non-whites/Negroes/Race (Bienstock, 1968) (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
7. Out of school youth--drop-outs (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
8. Manual or low jobs--unskilled--not in white-collar or craft jobs (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968) (Via, 1968)
9. Large family (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
10. Aged (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
11. Concentration in large cities (Bienstock, 1968) (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
12. Ethnic minorities (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Reports, 1967) (Via, 1968)
13. Disadvantaged (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)

B. Causes of unemployment or barriers to employment

1. Social psychological--attitudes, aspirations, motivation, willingness to defer gratification, self-image (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
2. Personal--a) lack of work skills (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
    b) lack of basic education (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
    c) lack of command of standard English (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
    d) health problems, lack of medical care (Department of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)
    e) personal appearance and grooming (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
    f) lack of adequate child-care facilities (Department

of Labor Reports, 1967 and 1968)

g. inadequate transportation facilities (Department of Labor Report, 1968)

3. Environmental (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
4. Institutional (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
    a. discrimination (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Report, 1968) (Via, 1968)
    b. screening tests (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
    c. same standard of test performance for all (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
5. Non-availability of full-time work (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
6. Voluntary job changes (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
7. Delay in finding work upon entry or re-entry into the labor force (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
8. Seasonal lay-offs (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
9. Inadequate training and education (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Report, 1967)
10. Crime (Department of Labor Report, 1967)
11. Welfare fund available (Department of Labor Report, 1967)

C. Recommendations

1. Modify attitudes of the disadvantaged before or after introducing them to job situation (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
2. Manpower policy should be concerned with employment needs of adult men (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
3. Recognition of variations in social characteristics among slum residents (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
4. Strong government posture on job rights (Via, 1968)
5. Remove discrimination (Fogel, 1968) (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
6. Examine education-job results (Fogel, 1968)
7. Elimination of barriers to employment (Bienstock, 1968)
8. M.D.T.A. program insufficient (Bienstock, 1968)
9. Provision of high-skilled labor (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
10. Elimination of involuntary part-year and part-time work for non-whites (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
11. Upgrade worker's earning potential through better training, promotion, opportunities and more job security (Department of Labor Report, 1968) (Via, 1968)

5. Women on Welfare

A. **Characteristics**

1. Most were divorced, widowed, separated or deserted or unmarried mothers (Podell, 1967)
2. Women with husbands were likely to have been raised (Podell, 1967)
    a. by both parents
    b. in a large family
    c. on the farm
3. Youthful unmarried mothers were likely to have
    a. become pregnant as minors (Podell, 1967)
    b. been high school graduates
4. Separation after receiving welfare (Podell, 1967)
5. Occupation of welfare husbands higher than those of resident husbands (Podell, 1967)
6. Most had been to high school (Podell, 1967)
7. Some were graduates (Podell, 1967)
8. Desired more schooling (Podell, 1967)
9. Organized affiliation significantly reduced attitudes of powerlessness (Levens, 1968)

B. **Work experience and plans regarding employment**

1. Employment experience (Podell, 1967)
2. Preferred to work for pay rather than stay at home (Podell, 1967)
3. Would work if suitable day-care facilities were available (Podell, 1967)
4. Plan to work in future (Podell, 1967)

C. **Educational aspirations for their children**

1. 50% had children in school
2. The more education the mother had, the higher their expectations (Podell, 1968)
3. Their aspirations were higher than expectations (Podell, 1968)
4. High aspirations with regard to children's education but awareness of barriers such as poverty, etc. (Podell, 1968)
5. Most did not feel that teachers made themselves unapproachable (Podell, 1968)
6. Kept children from school to help out or because they did not have enough clothes to dress them. (Podell, 1968)

D. **Characteristics of families to be off welfare a year later** (Podell, 1968)

1. Families with husbands
2. White
3. More educated parents
4. Fewer children
5. With employable wives/mothers

E. **Characteristics of families on welfare and their children**

1. Three or more children--large family (Podell, 1967)
2. Two-thirds with pre-school children (Podell, 1967)
3. Few lived in public housing (Podell, 1967)
4. Rats and hallway garbage in buildings (Podell, 1967)
5. More than one and a half persons per room in a third of families (Podell, 1967)
6. High rent (Podell, 1967)
7. Children perform poorly when compared to those not from unassisted families (Malik, 1968)
8. Failure in academic career more frequent (Malik, 1968)

F. **Recommendations**

1. The characteristics which distinguish the welfare families from their social equals and which force the environment should be the focus of changes (Malik, 1968)
2. Means should be found to bring the best facilities in teaching to low-income areas (Malik, 1968)
3. New curricula (Malik, 1968)

6. Social Mobility

A. **Factors for upward mobility**

1. Education (Miller and Bryce, 1966)
2. Urbanization (Miller & Bryce, 1966)
3. Economic development of the ghetto community (Farmer, 1967)
4. Job training (Farmer, 1967)

B. **Barriers to upward mobility**

1. Sustaining conditions of poverty: (Haber, 1967)
    a. Public attitudes toward the poor
    b. Effects of past deprivation
    c. Intra-generational barriers to mobility such as discrimination.

exploitation, deficient communication and professional services, and structured dependency.

2. Delimited opportunity structure (Haber, 1967)
3. Institutional managements and discriminatory forces (Haber, 1967)
4. Lack of organization and political unity among the poor (Haber, 1967)
5. Limited aspiration and risk-taking (Haber, 1967)
6. Potential strains in the mobility process (Mizruchi, 1967)

C. Barriers to organization and political unity of the poor (Haber, 1967)

1. Minority status
2. Class consciousness
3. Diffusion of demands
4. Political psychology
5. Intimidation
6. Lack of organizational experience and resources
7. Limited commitment of allies

D. Suggestions

1. Society should supply deprived children with the kinds of background support which mobile, well educated families supply (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
2. School can make clear to parents and children how much daily homework is expected (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
3. Involve parents in children's achievements (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
4. Homework centers (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
5. Personal interest in children by teacher (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
6. Teaching techniques to stimulate students (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
7. Provision of successful models (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
8. Encourage college attendance (Miller & Bryce, 1967)
9. Solution of housing and school problems (Farmer, 1967)
10. Replace outmoded apprenticeship techniques by programmed methods (Farmer, 1967)
11. Training in management skills (Farmer, 1967)
12. Increasing role of ghetto community in politics (Farmer, 1967)
13. Over-all approach for advance on different fronts (Farmer, 1967)

7. Disorganized Lower Class Family

A. Characteristics

1. Do not perform functions of maintenance, socialization, and status placement (Bandler, 1967) (Keller, 1966)
2. Race (Negro) (Mintz, 1967) (Young, 1967)
3. Minority groups (Young, 1967)
4. Parents grow up with few of the learning experiences fostering maturity (Bandler, 1967)
5. They bring to their current life: deprivations, uncontrolled impulses, social acting out, etc. (Bandler, 1967)
6. Parents and children exhibit similar behavior and methods of coping with life (Bandler, 1967)
7. Parents' needs take precedence over those of children (Bandler, 1967)
8. Random responses to children's behavior (Minuchin, 1967)
9. Emphasis on inhibition rather than guidance (Minuchin, 1967)
10. Lack of goals (Young, 1967)
11. Living from day to day (Young, 1967)
12. Weak role definitions of family members (Young, 1967)
13. Weak standards of behavior (Young, 1967)
14. Concentration in slums (Pavenstedt, 1968)
15. Impermanent and unpredictable home environment (Minuchin, 1967)
16. Multi-problem (Bandler, 1967) (Malone, 1967) (Mintz, 1967)
17. Lower class (Gould, 1967) (Minuchin, 1967) (Pavenstedt, 1968)
18. Poor (Young, 1967)
19. Exist under strong pressures of disorganization (Bandler, 1967) (Minuchin, 1967) (Young, 1967) (Gould, 1967) (Pavenstedt, 1968)

B. Causes of disorganization

1. Social isolation (Young, 1967)
2. Poverty combined with other forces (Young, 1967)

C. Characteristics of children of these families

1. Low self-esteem (Malone, 1967) (Mattick, 1967)
2. Relationships to people are need-oriented, distrustful, shallow and non-specific (Mattick, 1967)
3. Impulsive in his responses (Minuchin, 1967)
4. Regular exposure to real danger (Malone, 1967)
5. Oriented toward the present (Gould, 1967)

6. Distrustful of institutional authority of school (Gould, 1967)
7. Deprived of experiences with school material at home (Gould, 1967)
8. Suffers from major school related disabilities (Mattick, 1967) (Gould, 1967)

D. School and the children from these families

1. Conflict between standards taught at schools and at home (Young, 1967)
2. Relationship between school failure and social class (Keller, 1966) (Young, 1967)
3. Schools may become an arena of sex-role conflict (Keller, 1966)
4. New conflict by children's higher educational and social goals (Young, 1967)
5. Pervasive class discrimination in schools (Gould, 1967)

E. Remediation

1. Study of entire poverty populations (Pavenstedt, 1968)
2. Radical social and economic changes (Pavenstedt, 1968)
3. Long-term strategies (Pavenstedt, 1968)
4. Collaboration of various personnel (Pavenstedt, 1968)
5. Multi-service centers in poor neighborhoods (Pavenstedt, 1968)
6. Restructure existing health, social and welfare, and educational services (Pavenstedt, 1968)
7. Remedial programs (Mintz, 1967)
8. Further search (Pavenstedt, 1968)
9. Systematic longitudinal studies of children and families (Bandler, 1967)
10. Provision of realistic goals (Bandler, 1967)
11. Intervention (Young, 1967)

8. Race

A. Causes of 'white supremacy'

1. The color-caste system (Banton, 1968)
2. Sexual elements (Banton, 1968)
3. Occupational elements (Banton, 1968)
4. White patronage (Banton, 1968)
5. Urbanization (Banton, 1968)
6. Negro exclusion from the polls, churches and education (Banton, 1968)
7. Legislated segregation and lynching (in the South) (Banton, 1968)

8. Appeal to ideology of social distance and racial difference (Banton, 1968)

B. Causes of alienation of Negroes from whites

1. Urbanization (Rosen, 1965)
2. Rapid social change (Rosen, 1965)
3. Deprivation (Rosen, 1965)
4. Inadequate educational preparation
5. Defacto school segregation (Denton, 1967)
6. Inadequate representation of minorities in politics and governments (Denton, 1967)
7. Isolation in central cities (Denton, 1967)

C. Discrimination

1. Blacks relatively worse off today--even after the Supreme Court decision (Ferry, 1968)
2. They consistently lag a generation behind whites (Ferry, 1968)
3. Increased education differential between whites, with high levels of education, and non-whites (Price, 1967)
4. a) Increasing educational differential in rural-farm areas (Price, 1967)
   b) It is more prominent among males than among females (Price, 1967)
   c) This educational differential increases due to high out-migration rate of better educated non-whites from the South (Price, 1967)
5. In 1962, the majority of Negro men, regardless of social origin, had manual jobs (Duncan, 1967)

D. Conclusions

1. Our major cities will become predominantly black (Ferry, 1968)
2. Racial integration is impossible (Ferry, 1968)
3. Evolution of a political theory that will maintain democratic institutions along with providing for an ethnically separated minority community (Ferry, 1968)
4. Questions of political control will arise when the largest cities will have black majorities (Ferry, 1968)
5. The liberal view of black program is just a myth. (Ferry, 1968)
6. Current racial situation marked by growing violence, disillusionment, isolation of the black, middle class (Ferry, 1968)
7. The compressing of Negroes in the inner city results in a corollary compression of Negro interaction, poverty, and occupational and economic dissatisfaction (Smith et al, 1967)

8. Segregated formal associations have the same effect upon community cohesion as segregated residence (Smith et al, 1967)
9. Two strong reactions emanate from their gain coupled with continuing repression--hostility and militancy (Rosen, 1965)
10. Integration involves unlearning prejudices and building understanding and mutual respect (Rosen, 1965)
11. The recognition by civil rights workers that poverty and lack of jobs are fundamental social and economic problems is commendable (Rosen, 1965)
12. Social change does not uniformly reduce inconsistency but in many respects divides up social domains (Banton, 1968)
13. The educational gap can be expected to decrease in Southern urban areas
14. In rural areas, the educational differantial will continue to increase. (Price, 1967)
15. Negro youths have a greater awareness of limited occupational opportunity (Alam, 1968)
16. Negro and white boys have similar high goal levels of income, occupation, education and residence, although there are general differences in each type of goal (Kuvlesky & Upham, 1967)
17. Blacks feel that their everyday life situation including jobs, housing and education is tied to government action (Cataldo et al, 1968)
18. Two separate societies--black and white (Cataldo et al, 1968)
19. Social origins of Negroes not as favourable as those of whites in occupational achievement (Duncan, 1967)

9. Identified Ethnic Groups: Negroes

A. Housing and Residence

1. Limited supply of housing open (Mayhew, 1968)
2. Higher rents(Mayhew, 1968)
3. Excluded from low-priced housing (Mayhew, 1968)
4. Sub-standard housing worse than that of whites (Mayhew, 1968)
5. Generally do not own homes (Mayhew, 1968)
6. Usually own sub-standard houses (Mayhew, 1968)
7. Ten percent live in poor neighborhoods of large cities (Department of Commerce, 1967)
8. Ten percent have lived in rural areas all their lives (Department of Commerce, 1967)
9. Most live in densely populated areas in cities where 90% of the population is Negro (Newman, 1966)

10. Survey of 12 cities shows increased rates of segregation (Department of Commerce, 1967)
11. Prejudice effects the demand for housing in integrated areas (Mayhew, 1968)

B. Low Income and poverty

1. Despite increase in Negro incomes, the Negro family income is only 58% of white family income (Department of Commerce, 1967)
2. Over 28% of non-white families receive more than $6,000 a year, yet one out of three non-white families is classified as poor (Department of Commerce, 1967)
3. Negro family income is much less than that of white incomes (Newman, 1966)
4. Many have incomes below the poverty level (Department of Commerce, 1967) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
5. Comparisons within different income levels show that the differences associated with income outweigh those associated with color (Whitaker, 1967)
6. Poverty was present in about 40% of non-white families in urban areas (as compared to 12% of whites) in 1964 (Newman, 1966)

C. Education

1. Inferior education (Liebow, 1966)
2. Although enrollment proportionate with population increases of non-white youths, the advantages of education are still limited (Eckstein, 1968) (Newman, 1966)
3. Educators see education in the ghetto as a hard task (Rossi et al, 1968)
4. Educators see schools as adequate but their success hampered by the material they have to work with (Rossi et al, 1968)

D. Employment

1. Certain types of jobs not open to Negroes, and they concentrate in lowest occupations, e.g. line authority, crafts, white-collar (Batchelder, 1967) (Liebow, 1966) (Mayhew, 1968) (Hill, (1968) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1969)
2. Tighter anti-Negro restrictions on the female labor market than on the male labor market (Batchelder, 1967)
3. Proportion of Negroes employed is below the proportion of the Negroes in the labor force of the country (Batchelder, 1967)
4. Inspite of increase in jobs, expansion is not proportionate to the expanding economy (Batchelder, 1967) (Eckstein, 1968) (Newman, 1966)
5. Unemployment rates of non-whites are twice those of whites (Department of Commerce, 1967) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)

6. Uneven social and economic progress (Newman, 1966)
7. Ratio of non-white to white employment rates (in urban areas) has remained consistent (Newman, 1966)
8. Unemployment greatest for non-white teenagers (Newman, 1966) (Whitaker, 1967)
9. Greater sub-employment rate in low income neighborhoods (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
10. Most jobs pay too little to support a family (Liebow, 1966)
11. In some cases, employers adjust the salary downward anticipating that the Negro employee will steal (Liebow, 1966)
12. The Negro is the first to be laid off (Liebow, 1966)
13. Almost complete elimination from the Mississippi Delta economy (Piore, 1967)

E. Family

1. 75% of Negro urban marriages are intact and 25% are dissolved by desertion (Whitaker, 1967)
2. High incidence of illegitimacy (Whitaker, 1967)
3. The present characteristics of low income Negro families are due to post-slavery discrimination and deprivation (Whitaker, 1967)

F. Conclusions

1. Relative economic deprivation continues despite educational gains (Mayhew, 1968)
2. Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
3. The culture of poverty generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
4. a) Prostitution, dope addiction, casual sexual affairs, and crime create insecurity.
   b) Children growing up under such conditions are likely to participate in civil disorder (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
5. Distinction between what is different and what is pathologically deviant (Whitaker, 1967)
6. Instability, illegitimacy, and matriarchy may be the most positive adaptations possible to the Negro economic position
7. Civil rights movement has widened the cleavage between middle class Negroes and masses of Negroes (Clark, 1967)
8. Negro employment gains have not been above what would have been expected in spite of government programs (Thurow, 1967)

9. Training and re-training is not helpful for all Negroes (Dizard, 1968) (Piore, 1967)
10. The 'don't want to work' minority are those who have realized completely that they can never win in any future (Liebow, 1966)
11. Because the Negro 'streetcorner man' is hopeless about his future, he expends all his resources in maintaining himself from moment to moment (Liebow, 1966)

G. Recommendations

1. Special rewards for school districts which are outstanding in helping the children of the poor (Eckstein, 1968)
2. Improvement in schools (Killingsworth)
3. Expand the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Eckstein, 1968)
4. Colleges and universities must seek Negro applicants
5. Remedial education (Killingsworth)
6. Counselling (Killingsworth)
7. Negro families must accept their share of the responsibility for the education of their children (Eckstein, 1968)
8. Birth control, increased family planning services (Killingsworth)
9. Day-care centers, visiting homemakers, services for fatherless children and acceptance of Negro families into the social mainstream of American life (Whitaker, 1967)
10. Increase in the proportion of college graduates to maintain the present rate of progress (Eckstein, 1968)
11. New York City must be strengthened.
12. Hire the poor to train the poor (Killingsworth)
13. Job creation and job training (Killingsworth) (Hill, 1968)
14. Redesign jobs (Eckstein, 1968)
15. Intensification of Negro recruitment by companies and unions (Eckstein, 1968)
16. Equality in education and employer cooperation in the case of white-collar job ladder (Eckstein, 1968)
17. An unbalanced labor market with shortages of labor at all skill levels. (Thurow, 1967)
18. Information services for Negroes (Batchelder, 1967)
19. Negroes and whites should join together to counteract the Black Power Movement (Clark, 1967)
20. Realistic analysis of our times (Clark, 1967)
21. Dispersal of ghettos (Killingsworth)
22. Improve the environment of central cities (Killingsworth)

10. Negro Adolescents and Youths

A. Purpose of studies

1. Work related cultural deprivations of lower class Negro youth (Himer, 1964)
2. Influence of family structure and of poverty on the social performance of lower class Negro adolescent (Henderson, 1967)
3. Survey of attitudes and social and background factors of Negro school students (Conyers & Farmer, 1968)
4. Comparison of occupational status aspirations, expectations etc. of urban and rural Negro boys (Kuvlesky & Ohlendorf, 1968)

B. Conclusions

1. Work-related cultural deprivations lower chances of getting and keeping a job (Himer, 1964)
2. Neither poverty nor family structure was an adequate predictor of inadequate social performance (Henderson, 1967)
3. Black ghetto is of crucial importance in the life of these youth (Henderson, 1967)
4. Meaningful programs must take account of the differential influence of the ghetto upon the lives of its members (Henderson, 1967)
5. Urban boys had higher goal and expectation levels than the rural boys (Kuvlesky & Ohlendorf, 1968)
6. Although they had similar rates of anticipatory deflection from occupational goals (Kuvlesky & Ohlendorf, 1968)
7. Negro students show considerable dissatisfaction with the environment (Conyers & Farmer, 1968)
    a) Desire substantial change in self-image
    b) Not militant in measuring attitudes toward racial problems
    c) Dispose Black Power or defeatist views
    d) Civil rights approaches approved by large majorities
8. Importance of non-family members on decision to go to college (Gurin & Epps, 1966)
9. Peer influence varies with income (Gurin & Epps, 1966)
10. No relationship between income and incentive value or importance of college (Gurin & Epps, 1966)
11. Motivational difference related to perceptions of chances for success (Gurin & Epps, 1966)

11.a Identified Ethnic Groups: Mexicans

A. Characteristics

1. The second largest disadvantaged minority (Mittlebach & Marshall)
2. High concentration in urban areas (Mittlebach & Marshall)
3. Position better than Negroes and other non-whites (Fogel, 1967)
4. Labor market position varies from state to state (Fogel, 1967)

B. Major obstacles to educational and employment equality

1. Shortage of teachers (Roderiquez, 1968)
2. Lack of well-oriented curriculum (Roderiquez, 1968)
3. Lack of models of successful Mexican-Americans (Roderiquez, 1968)
4. No school district whose curriculum correlated with the needs of Mexican-Americans (Roderiquez, 1968)
5. Low job qualifications (Fogel, 1967)
6. Low level of educational attainment (Fogel, 1967)
7. Had inadequate command of the English language (Fogel, 1967)
8. Residence in declining or slowly growing areas (Fogel, 1967)
9. Discrimination (Fogel, 1967)

C. Conclusions and Recommendations

1. In the near future the Mexican-American will become a more productive member of society (Roderiquez, 1968)
2. He will fight for equality (Roderiquez, 1968)
3. It would be helpful to consider whether societal institutions produce and perpetuate poverty among minorities (Mittlebach & Marshall)
4. Public-supported schooling and manpower training to help individuals and deprived groups is more useful than traditional welfare and anti-poverty programs (Mittlebach & Marshall)
5. Modern education must be tailored to fit individual needs (Mittlebach & Marshall)

11.b Identified Ethnic Groups: Indians

A. Problems in Indian education

1. Social conflict (Parnice, 1968)
2. Economic Deprivation (Parnice, 1968)
3. Cultural instability (Parnice, 1968)

B. Factors contributing to education retardation

1. Community (Parnice, 1968)
    - a) serious unemployment problems
    - b) poverty
    - c) parental apathy and indifference resulting from little involvement in the education program
2. Family (Parnice, 1968)
3. School; inadequate solution of basic language problems (Parnice, 1968)
    - a) serious deficiencies in teaching techniques
    - b) teachers' lack of understanding of the children's home environment
    - c) boarding schools isolated Apaches from non-Indians
    - d) conflict of goals between retention of tribal identity and assimilation into Anglo-American life

C. Factors enhancing education achievement

1. Reading ability (Melville)
2. Mental ability (Melville)
3. Interaction with the dominant culture (Melville)

D. Conclusion

1. The 1959-1961 education program (for Apaches) was unsuccessful in educating and integrating the children into the mainstream of American life (Parnice, 1968)

12. Tests and Ethnic Background

A. Positive relationship between performance and:

1. Similar race (Katz et al, 1968) (Pelosi, 1968)
2. Similar race and sex (Pelosi, 1968)
3. Opposite sex and race (Pelosi, 1968)
4. Similar sex (Pelosi, 1968)
5. Remedial training

B. Conclusions

1. Improving tests will not resolve the problem of selection of employment of minority groups (Barrett, 1968)
2. Special treatment is degrading for Negroes (Barrett, 1968)
3. No inadvertent negative bias due to white examiners (of Negro subjects)(Kirkpatrick et al, 1967)

4. Differential pattern of validity for different ethnic groups (Kirkpatrick et al, 1967)
    - a) Test scores would predict job performance for one ethnic group and not for others
    - b) Two or three groups would perform at the same level in a job, yet one may show poorer test scores
    - c) One group may be superior in job performance but not in test performance
5. Cultural disadvantage has differential effects by sex and by ethnic groups (Mason, 1967)

C. Recommendations

1. Validation and standardization of tests separately for the ethnic groups (Kirkpatrick et al, 1967)
2. To make selection fairer (Barrett, 1968)
    - a) redesign jobs
    - b) more careful training of receptionists
    - c) change the testing procedure
    - d) training and upgrading interviewers so that top management's conviction about fair employment will not be distorted.
3. Use of employment agencies which specialize in minority groups (Barrett, 1968)

13. Inequality of Opportunity in Ethnic Minorities

A. Inequality of opportunity is due to

1. Caste and class (Barnett, 1967)
2. Poor education (Batchelder, 1966) (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968)
3. Lack of skills (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968)
4. Discrimination in employment, education etc. (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Reports, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1968)
5. Discriminatory attitude against women in many areas (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968)
6. Lack of equal opportunity leadership among the minorities
7. Concentration of Negroes in a given industry and the proportion of industry's employment in the South (Department of Labor, 1968)

B. White-collar employment in New York City

1. Total exclusion from white-collar jobs (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Reports, 1968)

2. Minority women fare better than men (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968) (Hiestand, 1967)
3. Representation in technical and clerical categories (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968) (Hiestand, 1967)
4. Difference in the income levels of whites and non-whites of similar occupational status (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968)
5. As group, women are underrepresented in all the fields above the clerical level in private employment (Hiestand, 1967)
6. Significant difference among specific industries in utilization of various minorities in white collar jobs (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968)
7. Slight improvement in white collar employment since 1966 (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968)

C. Educational achievement, occupational distribution and employment and unemployment

1. Between 1960-1967, 16% increase in non-white employed workers compared to 13% for white workers (Department of Labor, 1968)
2. Still, the ratio of unemployment of non-whites and whites remain 2:1 (Department of Labor, 1968)
3. 1967 unemployment rates for non-white teenagers increased 2.5 times compared to white teenagers (Department of Labor, 1968)
4. Decrease in joblessness among workers 20 years and older (Department of Labor, 1968)
5. Increase in non-white workers in high occupation (Department of Labor, 1968)
6. Average income much lower for Negro than for white families (Department of Labor, 1968)
7. The position of the rural poor and the slum dweller is degenerating (Department of Labor, 1968)
8. Indians have a poorer educational preparation than the Mexican-Americans (Department of Labor, 1968)
9. Low educational level and language barriers are also handicaps to Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, forcing their concentration into low paying jobs (Department of Labor, 1968)

D. Recommendations

1. Increased opportunity for entrance into the high-paid, skilled jobs (Department of Labor, 1968)
2. Equal employment opportunity in managerial and sales positions must cut across industry lines (Hiestand, 1967)
3. Stress on initial hiring of minority group members in white-collar jobs (Hiestand, 1967)
4. Access to necessary skills and experiences (Hiestand, 1967)

5. Available opportunities in white-collar sector must be brought to the attention of the youngsters in minority groups (Hiestand, 1967)
6. More formal education (Hiestand, 1967)
7. Only schools can upgrade the children of racial minorities into the middle class (Barnett, 1967)
8. Make education more meaningful for these children (Barnett, 1967)
9. Learning experiences should be drawn from the child's world (Barnett, 1967)
10. Non-graded schools with heteregeneous classes should emphasize mastery not marks (Barnett, 1967)
11. Continuing relationship of schools with colleges, technical and professional schools, etc. (Barnett, 1067)
12. Develop joint programs (Barnett, 1967)
13. Labor unions and organizations can play an important role in increasing the number of Negro apprentices (Battle, 1968)

14. Anti-Poverty Programs

A. Objectives

1. Participation of low-income people in local associations (Piven, 1967)
2. Increased participation in framing of decisions (Piven, 1967)(Starr, 1967)
3. Establishing conditions for effective individual and family life (Piven, 1967)
4. Influencing attitudes toward work, authority, self-esteem, cooperation, the rights of others, and achievement (Durkin, 1967)
5. Imposing new social forces (Durkin, 1967)

B. Limitations or drawbacks

1. The hypothesis that the poor constitute a nationality which must progress first (Starr, 1967)
2. Inadequate methods of providing aid
3. Kill initiative (Levitan, 1966)
4. Do not fill needs of the poor (Levitan, 1966)
5. Provision of services to the poor adds to their humiliation (Pearl, 1967)
6. Insufficient welfare (Schuchter, 1968) (Kahn, 1968) (Parham, 1968)
7. Most American economic and social policies favour groups above the poverty level (Schuchter, 1968)

C. Program strategies or recommendations

1. More jobs (Levitan, 1966) (Starr, 1967)
2. Develop necessary motivation, skills and attitudes (Durkin, 1967)
3. New social forces (Durkin, 1967)
4. Long-range strategy along with short term tactics (Cloud, 1967)
5. Provision of concrete services (Piven, 1967)
6. Helping existing low-income organizations (Piven, 1967)
7. Recruitment of professional staff from among the people (Piven, 1967)
8. Affiliation with socially contiguous ethnic, religious, occupational or residental groups (Piven, 1967)
9. Participation in social protests (Piven, 1967)
10. Meaningful participation of the poor in education (Riessman, 1966)
11. New careers instead of jobs (Riessman, 1966) (Pearl, 1967)
12. Use of poor in non-professional positions in schools (Pearl, 1967)
13. Direct participation instead of representation (Riessman, 1966)
14. Give aid without degradation and discouragement (Levitan, 1966) (Pearl, 1967)
15. Establish priorities e.g. housing, aiding children (Levitan, 1966)
16. Eliminate poverty through minimum wage legislation, birth control etc. (Levitan, 1966)
17. Improved efforts to interpret the life circumstances and behavior (Parham, 1968)
18. Volunteer programs in consumer education and home management (Parham, 1968)
19. Reduce alienation (Kahn, 1968)
20. Control of community destiny (Schuchter, 1968)
21. Publicly assisted income maintenance (Schuchter, 1968)
22. Adequate living standards for all (Schuchter, 1968)

15. Training and Re-Training Programs

A. Characteristics of Trainees

1. Non-college youths (Department of Labor, 1963)
2. Low-wage employees (Erwin, 1968) (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967)
3. Disadvantaged youths (Bureau of Social Research, 1967) (Herman et al, 1968)
4. Low-skill workers (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967) (Skill Advancement Incorporated, 1967) (Wolfbeing, 1967)

5. Hard-core unemployed (Bureau of Social Research, 1967) (Raven-Hansen, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1963) (Wolfbeing, 1967)
6. Non-whites (Department of Labor, 1963)
7. Negroes (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967) (Rutledge and Gass, 1967)
8. Racial minorities (Goldberg and Kanuk, 1967)
9. Poverty (Erwin, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1963) (Wolfbeing, 1967)
10. Low level of education (Erwin, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1963) (Wolfbeing, 1967)
11. Physical and mental handicaps (Department of Labor, 1963)
12. Delinquency (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1963)
13. Lack of motivation and vocational commitment (Rutledge & Gass, 1967)
14. Absence of social-occupational commitment (Rutledge & Gass, 1967)
15. Fear of tests (Rutledge & Gass, 1967)
16. Tendency to avoid tense situations (Rutledge & Gass, 1967)
17. Lack of sense of identity (Rutledge & Gass, 1967)
18. Other self-defeating personality traits (Rutledge & Gass, 1967)

B. Barriers to their employment

1. Moderate education (Department of Labor, 1963)
2. Lack of jobs (Department of Labor, 1963)
3. Unique handicaps of the disadvantaged
4. Racial discrimination (Department of Labor, 1963)
5. Lack of employment in rural areas
6. Socialization (Herman et al, 1968)
7. Family structure (Herman et al, 1968)
8. Health (Herman et al, 1968)
9. Economy (Herman et al, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1963)
10. Income/poverty (Herman et al, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1963)
11. The prevailing value system (Herman et al, 1968)
12. International affairs (Herman et al, 1968)
13. Recruitment
14. Unwillingness of ghetto people to work (Mercer, 1968)
15. Unfamiliarity with customs such as respect for time (Mercer, 1968)
16. Decrease in jobs and increase in the number of workers (Department of Labor, 1963)

C. Limitations of programs/projects

1. Few employers value or have knowledge of the training program (Bureau of Social Research, 1967) (Skill Advancement Inc., 1967)
2. Immediate positive gains gradually disappear over time (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
3. Present training programs are inadequate (Department of Labor, 1963)
4. Present high school training not realistically oriented (Department of Labor, 1963)
5. Concentration on adults with little regard for teenagers (Department of Labor, 1963)
6. Apprenticeship on private industry is not used due to lack of openings (Department of Labor, 1963)
7. Little authentic skill training (Bureau of Social Research, 19670

D. Achievements

1. Change in negative attitudes of supervisors and the management (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967)
2. Increase in confidence, self-esteem and motivation of low-skill workers (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967)
3. Subjective responses to work situations indicate strong desires of workers to engage in interesting and important work (Skill Advancement Inc., 1967)
4. Favorable reaction to training programs (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
5. Experimental and Demonstration Program successfully included persons with severe academic deficiencies in institutional vocational training programs at the apprenticeship level (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1968)
6. The prospect of a regular job motivates trainees to finish high school and/or college (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967)
7. Gain in educational development (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1968)
8. Self-selection of training programs resulted in optimum participation (National Committee for Children and Youth, 1968)

E. Recommendations

1. Traditional training time for senior skilled occupations can be reduced (Goldberg & Kanuk, 1967)
2. New career jobs are as aides to professionals (Erwin, 1968)
3. Specific training programs for each project (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
4. Federal agencies should absorb disadvantaged youth (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)

5. Outside review of projects (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
6. Concentration on a few well-conceived projects (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
7. Understanding of the values system orientation, attitudes and language of hard-core youths (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
8. Qualified personnel (Bureau of Social Research, 1967)
9. Restrictive social institutions (Herman et al, 1968)
10. Commitment to human values (Herman et al, 1968)
11. Expanded public service activities (Herman et al, 1968)
12. Reduction in the size of the labor force (Herman et al, 1968)
13. Options for the use of free time (Herman et al, 1968)
14. Co-operation of private sector (Herman et al, 1968)
15. Increased commitment to health services and urban planning (Herman et al, 1968)
16. Solutions for immediate and long-term needs (Herman et al, 1968)
17. Psychological support in any training program (Rutledge and Gass, 1967)
18. Council of all involved public and private agencies and industry to operate an early warning system for reporting of planned relocations (Raven-Hansen, 1968)
19. Job development and training program (Mercer, 1968)
20. Counselling (Mercer, 1968)
21. Role models (Mercer, 1968)

16. Drop-Outs and Training Programs

A. Factors associated with leaving school

1. Low socio-economic level (Department of Labor Report, 1966) (Nam et al, 1968) (Sadofsky, 1968)
2. Segregation (Wiltie, 1967)
3. Discrimination (Wiltie, 1967)
4. Caste-like status (Wiltie, 1967)
5. Deprivation and alienation (disadvantaged)(Matchulat, 1968) (Varner, 1967)
6. Non-Catholic religious identification (Nam et al, 1968)
7. Place of residence(Nam et al, 1968) (Sadofsky, 1968) (Bienstock, 1967)
8. Occupation of family head (Nam et al, 1968) (Rhodes, 1968) (Bienstock, 1967)
9. Lower status in the lower status school (Rhodes, 1968)

10. Low I.Q. (Rhodes, 1968) (Bienstock, 1967)
11. Poor motivation (Cloward & Ontell, 1965) (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966)
12. Handicaps (physical, mental or emotional)(Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966) (Department of Labor Report, 1966)
13. Parents' financial condition - family income (Matchulat, 1968) (Bienstock, 1967)
14. Unemployment or underemployment (Cloward, 1965) (Department of Labor Report, 1968) (Bienstock, 1967)
15. Home situation (Matchulat, 1968)
16. Inferior education (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966) (Department of Labor Report, 1966) (Bienstock, 1967)
17. Unavailability of low-skilled jobs (Bienstock, 1967)
18. Color (Sadofsky, 1968) (Bienstock, 1967) (Varner, 1967) (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966) (Nam et al, 1968) (Rhodes, 1968)
19. Low self-esteem (Sadofsky, 1968)
20. Less commitment to work or work attitudes (Sadofsky, 1968)
21. Lack of counselling (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
22. Scholastic achievement (Bienstock, 1967)
23. Course of study (Bienstock, 1967)

B. Purpose

1. Independent and joint effects of race, socio-economic status, religion, and residence on the probability of finishing high school (Nam et al, 1968)
2. Relationship between drop-out rates and socio-economic level of the students (Rhodes, 1968)
3. Effects of education and under-education upon poverty (Matchulat, 1968)
4. School-work transition and youth unemployment (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
5. Role of neighborhood school in giving the Negro a truly equal education (Wiltie, 1967)
6. Differences between successful and unsuccessful youth in variables like workshop supervision, family, income, reading etc. (Smith et al, 1968)

C. Conclusions

1. Unusually high non-enrolment rates for blue-collar big city Negro males of the North and West and for blue-collar, small town, rural Southern whites (Nam et al, 1968)
2. No deviation in the drop-out rates from the expected to as great a degree among schools as among individuals (Nam et al, 1968)

3. Relationship between school context and chances of leaving school before graduation (Rhodes, 1968)
4. Improvement in social maturity, personal appearance and employability after participation in Neighborhood Youth Corps (Landrum, 1967)
5. Awareness of need for education but opposition to returning to the school he had left due to its inadequacy (Sadofsky, 1968)
6. Contrast in work attitudes and self-esteem between high school graduates and dropouts (Sadofsky, 1968)
7. Differences between successful and unsuccessful trainees regarding job interest and desire to remain employed (Smith et al, 1968)

D. Drawbacks of programs

1. Failure of Employment Training Programs because:
   a) slum youths are aware that few jobs await them (Cloward & Ontell, 1965)
   b) they lack necessary education and skills (Cloward & Ontell, 1965)
2. Emphasis on non-skills like grooming, promptness which the present education imparts (Cloward & Ontell, 1965)
3. Obsession with motivating the trainees (Cloward & Ontell, 1965)
4. Lack of remedial education (Cloward & Ontell, 1965) (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966)
5. Lack of research on the effectiveness of programs (Varner, 1967)
6. Emphasis on the geographic location of the school rather than the quality of education.

E. Recommendations

1. Meaningful work-training programs for Negro youths (Sadofsky, 1968)
2. School and community should face the problems of poverty and undereducation (Matchulat, 1968)
3. Upgrade educational competence and job skills (Cloward & Ontell, 1965)
4. Changes and improvement in educational system, linking the curriculum to the reality of the work world (Cloward & Ontell, 1965) (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
5. Remedial education and specific skills (Cloward & Ontell, 1965) (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966) (Varner, 1967)
6. Legislation for funding of jobs (Jewish Employment and Vocational Service, 1966)
7. Supplement activities of parents (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
8. Counselling (CLoward & Ontell, 1965) (Leshner & Snyderman, 1966) (Department of Labor, 1966) (Moed, 1967)

9. Increased responsibility of schools for job placement at their graduation (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
10. Availability of information network to Employment Service System, (Department of Labor Report, 1968)
11. Integrate the school staff (Wiltie, 1967)
12. Realistic wages (Leshner & Snyderman, 1966)
13. Consideration of individual's value system in retraining program (Leshner & Snyderman, 1966) (Department of Labor Report, 1966)
14. Consideration of the problem of young drop-outs by industries planning training programs (MacNee, 1968)
15. Teachers must begin at the level where the students are (MacNee, 1968)
16. Changes in the education programs (Department of Labor, 1966)
17. Training requires support and encouragement, and pay during training (MacNee, 1968)
18. Programs that eliminate a classroom atmosphere, provide workers with counselors, and teachers with compassion (MacNee, 1968)

17. The Disadvantaged Child

A. Characteristics

1. Culturally, educationally deprived (Ausubel, 1967) (Radin, 1965) (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968) (Santos, 1967) (Loretan & Umons, 1966)
2. Poor (Martin, 1968) (Wagner, 1967)
3. Lower class (social class) (Sizer & Whitten, 1968) (Wagner, 1967) (Deutsch, 1964) (Weiner & Murray, 1968)
4. Negro/non-white minorities (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)
5. Concentration in depressed areas, slums (Martin, 1968) (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968)
6. Ethnic groups
7. Lack of self-approval and self-appraisal (Katz, 1968)
8. Lack of educational facilities (Deutsch, 1965)
9. Simpler grammar and few descriptive terms (Deutsch, 1965)
10. Less developed mental process of verbal mediation (Deutsch, 1965)
11. Ability to differentiate the sounds of word endings (Deutsch, 1965)
12. Low attainment levels (Katz, 1968)
13. Lack of motivation (Ausubel, 1967)
14. Self-devaluation (low self-esteem) (Katz, 1968) (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)
15. Strong anxiety (Katz, 1968)

16. Low aspiration (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965) (Della-Dora, 1963)
17. Low academic achievement (Katz, 1968)
18. Perception of low rewards and high punitiveness (Katz, 1968)
19. Racial isolation (segregation)(Ausubel, 1965)
20. Unstable and matriarchal family structure (Ausubel, 1965)
21. Limited ways of achieving social status (Ausubel, 1965)
22. Cultural devaluation of dignity as humans (Ausubel, 1965)
23. Limited written and verbal response (Wagner, 1967)
24. Lower auditory discrimination (Hendrix, 1967)
25. Lower mathematics achievement (Kaplan, 1967)

B. Barriers to education and drawbacks of programs

1. Feeling that college is not reachable (Weiner & Murray, 1963)
2. Lack of self-approval (Katz, 1968)
3. Racial and class discrimination (Ausubel, 1967) (Radin, 1968)
4. Non-recognition of the needs of the child by the school (Rioux, 1967)
5. Image of school is a psychological barrier for the poor child (Rioux, 1967)
6. Standardized tests (Rioux, 1967)
7. Emphasis on remediation (Rioux, 1967)
8. Teacher expectations (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968)
9. Middle-class attitudes of teachers (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
10. Immediate gratification rather than delayed and profitable rewards (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
11. Difference in orientation of home and school (Powledge, 1967)
12. Lack of role models at home (Radin, 1968)
13. Lack of jobs for the unskilled (Radin, 1968)
14. Over-emphasis on goal oriented activities (Radin, 1968)
15. Deprivation (Radin, 1968) (Rioux, 1967)
16. Complex language structure (Radin, 1968)
17. Lack of understanding by parents (Radin, 1968)
18. Traditional teacher orientation (Radin, 1968)
19. Lack of link between school and community (Radin, 1968)
20. Faulty interpersonal relations between teacher and child (Radin, 1968)
21. Motivation damaged by school failure and lack of self-confidence (Ausubel, 1963)

22. Cultural background or social milieu (Deutsch, 1965) (Ausubel, 1963)
23. Basic assumption that the children are stimulus deprived (Bereiter & Engleman, 1966)
24. Slow abilities of attention (Deutsch, 1965)
25. Low aspiration (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)

C. Purpose

1. How far attributes of other students affect the achievement of individual students (Katz, 1968)
2. Role of school and pupil background in influencing student achievement (Dyer, 1968)
3. Developmental attainment of number conservation (Halasa, 1967)
4. How social environment impedes linguistic, perceptual and attentional abilities (Deutsch, 1965)
5. Cognitive development
6. Equality of opportunity in education

D. Conclusions

1. Discrepancy between parental aspirations and efforts (Katz, 1968)
2. Low academic achievement and self-criticism related to children's perceptions of low rewards and high punitiveness (Katz, 1968)
3. In racially isolated schools, unrealistic self-evaluation and strong anxiety are common features of Negro children's behavior (Katz, 1968)
4. Most important attitude relevant to academic motivation is sense of control of rewards (Katz, 1968)
5. The higher the proportion of white students, the stronger the Negro students' internality (Katz, 1968)
6. Verbal abilities can be raised through enrichment programs (Deutsch, 1965)
7. Negro children learn negative value of being black (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)
8. Early experiences in fending for themselves result in precarious social maturity, independence and emancipation from home (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)
9. Negro youth have ambivalent feelings toward middle-class values (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)
10. Lack of communication between teacher and pupil (Roger, 1967)
11. Disparity between how the pupil perceived his own self-concept and how the teacher felt he perceived it (Ro[illegible], 1967)

E. Recommendations - Teacher

1. Training and reorientation (in-service) (Riessman, 1965) Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
2. Change in teacher's curriculum (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
3. Ghetto school program to be made attractive to the teacher (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
4. Teachers should be sensitive to individual needs (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
5. Communication of high or low expectations to the child (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968)
6. Help improve self-concept, motivation and cognitive skills (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968)
7. More attention to teachers in educational research (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968)
8. Vocal about needs of the child (Rioux, 1967)
9. Learn more about child's background (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
10. Avoid overindulgence and hostility (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
11. Acknowledge the enormous range of differences among the disadvantaged (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
12. Non-professionals to aid teachers (Riessman, 1965)
13. New teaching techniques (Riessman, 1965)
14. Team teaching (Riessman, 1965)
15. Positive thinking (Loreton & Umons, 1966)

Recommendations - School

1. Respect the attributes of the child (Powledge, 1967)
2. Create sense of identity (Powledge, 1967)
3. Field-trips, role-playing games and realia (Powledge, 1967)
4. Intervention (Pwoledge, 1967)
5. Language, memory and environmental orientation (Deutsch, 1964)
6. Small and non-graded classes (Riessman, 1965) (Radin, 1968) (Martin, 1968)
7. Intensive extra school programs (Riessman, 1965)
8. Parent teacher groups (Riessman, 1965)
9. Upgrade elementary school (Martin, 1968)
10. Emphasize self-instructional devices (Loreton & Umons, 1966)
11. Not isolated from the community (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966)

12. Emphasize readiness, consolidation and sequential learning (Ausubel, 1963)
13. Develop an intrinsic motivational drive to learn (Ausubel, 1963)
14. Programmed instruction (Ausubel, 1963) (Deutsch, 1964)
15. School personnel should join the fight against poverty and segregation (Della-Dora, 1963)

Recommendations - Miscellaneous

1. Change the community (Della-Dora, 1963)
2. Community wide study (Della-Dora, 1963)
3. Intensive counselling and guidance (Ausubel, 1963) (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965) (Weiner & Murray, 1963)
4. Provide successful role models (Ausubel, 1963)
5. Scholarships (Ausubel, 1963)
6. Use individual abilities and skills of students and be responsive to their needs (Sizer & Whitten, 1968) (Wagner, 1967) (Loreton & Umons, 1966)
7. Curriculum and learning should relate to the experiences of the child (Wagner, 1967) (Deutsch, 1964) (Deutsch, 1968) (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
8. Preventive or compensatory instead of remedial programs (Deutsch, 1964 & 1965) (Rioux, 1967) (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)(Hendrix, 1967)
9. Personalized education (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
10. Involvement of parent and community (Ausubel, 1963) (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
11. Closer link between various community agencies (Rioux, 1967)
12. New operating styles in education (Rioux, 1967)
13. Equality of opportunity in schools (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966) (Sizer & Whitten, 1968)
14. Break the cycle of poverty (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
15. Exposure to middle class attributes (Hendrix, 1967)
16. Strengthen and culturally enrich Negro family life (Enrichment Programs) (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965) (Deutsch, 1964 & 1965)
17. Provide pre-school environment (Deutsch, 1964) (Bereiter & Engleman, 1966)
18. Language Development (Deutsch, 1964)
19. Jobs for junior and senior high school students (Martin, 1968)
20. Restructure the system of vocational education (Martin, 1968) (Clark, 1965)

21. Education in conjunction with work (Martin, 1968)
22. Analysis of value systems (Weiner & Murray, 1963)
23. Parent education classes (Weiner & Murray, 1963)
24. Change in attitudes of parents and children (Weiner & Murray, 1963)
25. Eliminate segregation, promote civil rights, etc. (Ausubel & Ausubel, 1965)
26. Remedy his deficiencies (Deutsch, 1965) (Loreton & Umons, 1966)
27. Analyze teachers' and administrators' negative attitudes toward lower class children (Della-Dora, 1963)
28. Plan education in the social milieu of the child (Sizer & Whitten, 1968)
29. Discrimination in favour of poor in education (Sizer & Whitten, 1968)
30. Tuition grants (Sizer & Whitten, 1968)
31. Guaranteed annual income (Sizer & Whitten, 1968)
32. Availability of jobs once the skills have been acquired (Sizer & Whitten, 1968)

18. Lower Class Adolescent

A. Purposes of study

1. Study of the relationship of anxiety to the educational and vocational aspirations (Schnalzried, 1967)
2. Lower class adolescents and their education, vocational development, socialization and delinquency and anti-social behavior (Kohrs, 1968)

B. Conclusions

1. Positive relationship between educational plans and
   a) Negro adolescent's father's educational and occupational level (Schnalzried, 1967)
   b) Negro adolescent's order of birth (first-born) in the family (Schnalzried, 1967)
   c) White adolescent's mother's educational and father's occupational level (Schnalzried, 1967)
2. Negative relationship between educational plans and
   a) Large size of family (whites) (Schnalzried, 1967)
   b) Younger age (whites) (Schnalzried, 1967)
3. Positive relationship between level of anxiety and
   a) Number of siblings (white) (Schnalzried, 1967)
   b) Educational plans of whites (Schnalzried, 1967)
   c) Number of years of schooling planned by Negroes (Schnalzried,1967)

4. Negative relationship between level of anxiety and
    a) Mother's occupational level (whites (Schnalzried, 1967)
    b) Schooling perceived as necessary for first occupational choice of Negroes and whites (Schnalzried, 1967)

C. Characteristics

1. Faces adulthood with limited alternatives (Kohrs, 1968)
2. Insecurity (Kohrs, 1968)
3. Feeling of powerlessness (Kohrs, 1968)
4. Poor educational achievement (Kohrs, 1968)
5. Lack of positive vocational development (Kohrs, 1968)
6. Alienation (Kohrs, 1968)
7. Suspicion of those in authority (Kohrs, 1968)
8. Mostly Negro/non-white
9. Lower income (Kohrs, 1968)

D. Results of research

1. Values education (Kohrs, 1968)
2. Does not lack vocational aspirations (Kohrs, 1968)
3. Reject stable marriages (Kohrs, 1968)
4. Exhibit more norm-violating behavior (Kohrs, 1968)
5. Sub-culture of poverty (Kohrs, 1968)

E. Recommendations

1. New applications in training and rehabilitation (Kohrs, 1968)
2. Determine effects of factors such as dropping out of school, sex and race (Kohrs, 1968)
3. Suggested areas of research: (Kohrs, 1968)
    a) Role of a masculinity drive
    b) effect of an alienated dependence syndrome
    c) differences in the sensory attentiveness in the educational setting
4. Use of peer groups to change the attitudes (Kohrs, 1968)
5. Physical and concrete approaches to learning (Kohrs, 1968)
6. Visible goals which lead to a better life (Kohrs, 1968)

19. Educational Strategies and the Poor

A. Barriers to higher education and employment

1. Race (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966) (Lecht, 1968)
2. Screening tests (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
3. Lack of education and educational motivation (Mauch & Denenmark,
4. De facto segregation of housing and child-rearing practices (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
5. Schools responsible for the educational deficiencies of the poor (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
6. Environment (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
7. Discrimination (Miller & Roby, 1969)
8. Lack of equality of opportunity (Miller & Roby, 1969) (Maucher & Denenmark, 1966)
9. College as a mode of existence is alien to the lower class background (Weber, 1966)
10. Courses irrelevant (Weber, 1966)
11. Lack of experiences of success (Weber, 1966)
12. Language and reading difficulties (Weber, 1966)
13. Freezing of the status quo (Weber, 1966)
14. Lack of money or low family income (Lecht, 1968) (Mack, 1968)
15. Lower occupational level of parents (Mack, 1968)
16. Poverty (Weber, 1966) (Lecht, 1968)
17. Minority group membership (Weber, 1966)

B. Limitations or drawbacks

1. Neglects many poor e.g. the aged, the working poor, the families of the youngsters (Miller & Roby, 1969)
2. Goals difficult to achieve (Miller & Roby, 1969)
3. Partially effective due to discrimination and other factors like style of life (Miller & Roby, 1969)
4. Emphasis on education constricts alternative channels of occupational mobility (Miller & Roby, 1969)
5. The premise that disadvantaged children are out of step and need reshaping (Pearl, 1967)
6. Teachers believe that they need repair (Pearl, 1967)
7. Reinforce inequality of education and humiliation (Pearl, 1967)
8. Children fall victim to careless sorting and discrimination in schools (Pearl, 1967)
9. Schools become alienated from the disadvantaged (Pearl, 1967)

10. Higher education provides little stimulating experience
11. Practice teaching and field experience are universally relevant to job experience (Pearl, 1967)
12. Teaching courses have little relevance to the eye experience of the children (Pearl, 1967)
13. College education mandatory for entry into human services (Pearl, 1967)
14. a) Thus, human services are exclusive preserves of the relatively affluent, and
    b) The poor are denied education.

C. Conclusions

1. Degree of academic retardation increases with school attendance in many inner city schools with a high percentage of Negro youths (Kvaraceus, 1967)
2. Loss of faith in each other by pupils and the community in inner city schools (Kvaraceus, 1967)
3. Professionals alone cannot solve the Negro's educational problems (Kvaraceus, 1967)
4. Counselling seldom accommodates the realities of Negroes' life (Kvaraceus, 1967)
5. Schools are social systems with vast networks of interpersonal relations (Kvaraceus, 1967)
6. Many problems of segregation and racism result from sexual myths, class status deprivations, and political effectiveness (Kvaraceus, 1967)
7. Educational attainment is the most important determinant of receptivity to vocational training (Lecht, 1968)

D. Recommendations

1. Improved educational system (Kvaraceus, 1967) (Lecht, 1968) (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
2. Raise educational level
3. In-service training for teachers (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
4. Improvement in institutional instruction (Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
5. Colleges should reach the disadvantaged (Weber, 1966)
6. Compensatory education (Weber, 1966)
7. Youths should be helped to stay in school in the value systems they are buying and not the one they are in (Kvaraceus, 1967)
8. Downward extension of school programming to include two to four year olds (Kvaraceus, 1967)
9. Reduce emphasis on education (Pearl, 1967)

10. Program planning in a way so that the Negro is not backed out of school into a dead end or low-level job (Kvaraceus, 1967)
11. Programming should take into account differing educational and psychological needs of Negro boys and girls (Kvaraceus, 1967)
12. Better understanding of the reality of Negro life by teachers (Kvaraceus, 1967)
13. Formation of parents and students into corporate bodies (Kvaraceus, 1967))Mauch & Denenmark, 1966)
14. Co-operation between school and community agencies (Kvaraceus, 1967) (Mauch & Denemark, 1968) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
15. More meaningful education (Lecht, 1968)
16. Improvement in urban school (Mack, 1968)
17. Maximize motivation and educational opportunity (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968) (Mack, 1968) (Lecht, 1968)
18. Eliminate de facto segregation (Mauch & Denenmark, 1968) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
19. Qualify education in ghetto schools (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
20. Bringing the student into an active teacher role (Pearl, 1967)
21. Make the classroom a co-operative venture (Pearl, 1967)
22. Unrestricted access by minority pupils to superior public schools (Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, 1966)
23. Basic adult and vocational education (Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, 1966) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
24. Establish a series of landings to allow for a wider range of entry positions in the professions (Pearl, 1967)
25. Changes in major social and political attitudes (Mauch & Denenmark, 1968)
26. Increase in number of professionals (Weber, 1966)
27. Active intervention in the area of poverty and undereducation (Mack, 1968)
28. Major changes in welfare system (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
29. More houses (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
30. Communication across racial lines (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
31. Remove discrimination (Miller & Roby, 1969) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968)
32. Neighborhood Youth Corps should provide income and work and motivate teenagers to remain in school (Lecht, 1968)

33. Economic assistance programs (Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity, 1966)
34. Youth oriented strategy for poverty reduction (Miller & Roby, 1969)
35. Reduce income and occupational gaps between whites and blacks (Miller & Roby, 1969)
36. Greater flexibility in the education process through 'New Careers' (Pearl, 1967)
37. Open opportunity in employment and increase in jobs (Mauch & Denenmark, 1968) (Pearl, 1967) (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
38. An information clearinghouse for education of the disadvantaged (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
39. On-the-job training (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
40. Encouraging business ownership in the ghetto (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)
41. Consolidation of employment efforts (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1968)

20. Educational Programs for the Disadvantaged

A. Purpose

1. Intervention (Frazier, 1968) (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
2. Compensation (Cohen, 1968) (Frazier, 1968) (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
3. Racial and social class desegregation (Cohen, 1968)
4. Scholastic progress (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1968)
5. Involvement of parents in school program (Riessman) (Salsinger, 1968)
6. Investigation of the influence of environment on the behavior and development of children
7. Enabling the child to overcome his deficits (Bronfenbrenner, 1968) (Riessman)
8. Development of curiosity (Graham, 1966)
9. Develop sense of self and of social belonging (Graham, 1966)
10. Encourage creativity (Graham, 1966)
11. Social, political and economic justice (Levin, 1964)
12. Provision of education for the poor (Levitan, 1967) (Levitan, 1968) (Riessman) (Schneiderman, 1968)

B. Achievements

1. Greater rate of student achievement (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968)
2. Decrease in drop-out rate (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968)
3. Positive effect of reading projects (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968)
4. Increased motivation and attitude change (Levitan, 1967 & 1968) (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
5. Improvement in chances to enter college (Levitan, 1968)

C. Drawbacks

1. Admission of a few students (as a token gesture) by 'prestige' colleges (Levitan, 1968)
2. Most Negro students enrolled in Negro colleges (Levitan, 1968)
3. Some projects avoid high-risk students and admit those who are likely to go to college without Upward Bound (Levitan, 1968)
4. Do not reject current thinking in learning theory and behavioral organization (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
5. Concentration of either an enriched or watered-down presentation of material to pupils (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
6. Exclusion of several children with acute educational handicaps (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968)
7. Isolation of children by race and social class (Cohen, 1968)
8. Institutionalize segregation (Cohen, 1968)
9. No significant change in student's academic ability in segregated schools (Cohen, 1968)
10. Programs unrelated to each other (Riessman)
11. Accentuate deficits (Riessman)
12. Reduction (not elimination) of the gap between the distribution of achievement for Negroes and whites (Cohen, 1968)
13. Lack of focus on the teacher (Riessman)
14. Overlook changes, like frequent movement of children from school to school (Department of Health, Education & Welfare,1968)
15. Subsidizing poverty with inadequate assistance and then using compensatory education to neutralize the damage to children (Schneiderman, 1968)

C. Conclusions

1. Poverty indices and population mobility highest at the large city core (Chertow, 1968)
2. Lack of supportive services in rural areas (Chertow, 1968)

3. Racial heterogeneity in core cities (Chertow, 1968)
4. Medium sized city suitable for projects (Chertow, 1968)
5. Resistance to community participation on the part of the education establishment (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
6. Preconceived concepts of child development cannot be imposed on poor communities (Levin, 1964)
7. Significant differences among Head Start children by ethnic origin and not by economic status (Nelson, 1967)
8. Projects Kindergarten and Head Start are necessary to bring public education to all children who need it and to make it relevant (Schneiderman, 1968)

E. Recommendations

1. More active participation of parents and communities (Bronfenbrenner, 1968) (Campbell, 1967) (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968) (Riessman, 1966) (Riessman)
2. Knowledge of lower class culture and its positive aspects (Riessman, 1966)
3. Special training (in-service) for teachers (Frazier, 1968) (Riessman, 1966)
4. Varying size of classes (Riessman, 1966)
5. Interaction between children of different ages (Bronfenbrenner, 1968) (Riessman, 1966)
6. Develop theory of social deprivation (Frazier, 1968)
7. Relationship between non-intellective factors and success at school (Frazier, 1968)
8. Head Start as an instrument of social change (Levin, 1964)
9. Heterogeneous grouping in classroom (Bronfenbrenner, 1968)
10. Evolve a program to enrich family life (Schneiderman, 1968)
11. Teachers must establish communication with children, develop their curiosity, sense of self, etc. (Graham, 1966)
12. Reorganize educational policy (Riessman)
13. Field trips, remedial classes and guidance (Riessman, 1966)
14. Short periods (Riessman, 1966)
15. Students as teacher helpers and tutors (Riessman, 1966)
16. Make them part of local poverty programs (Campbell, 1967)
17. Job training (Campbell, 1967)
18. Home interviews (Campbell, 1967)
19. Teachers as role models (Campbell, 1967)
20. Small classes (Campbell, 1967) (Riessman, 1966)
21. Attention to dynamics of group interaction (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)

22. Early intervention (Frazier, 1968) (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
23. Measures to insure good health, adequate nutrition and material resources necessary for learning (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
24. More language training (Frazier, 1968) (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
25. Provisions to accommodate transiency (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
26. Non-professionals and para-professionals on the staff (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
27. Adequate funding (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
28. Cultural, economic and ethnic integration of schools (Gordon & Jablonsky, 1968)
29. Abandon ethnic stereotypes (Frazier, 1968)
30. New concepts of the educational programs (Frazier, 1968)
31. Programs of curriculum development and teacher education (Riessman) (Frazier, 1968)
32. Prevention programs instead of remedial programs (Frazier, 1968)
33. School staff must understand the discontinuity between the home of the child and the middle class world of the school (Frazier, 1968)
34. Further research and evaluation (Frazier, 1968)
35. Community change (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1968)
36. Total personality development
37. Involvement of the whole school community (Bronfenbrenner, 1968)
38. Provision of appropriate role models (Bronfenbrenner, 1968)

21. Desegregation in Schools

A. Negro children and the schools

1. Despite 1954 Supreme Court decision to end racial segregation, problems persist (Kennedy, 1968)
2. Denial of school educational opportunity to Negroes (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966)
3. Negro pupils lack access to facilities related to academic achievement e.g. language and chemistry laboratories (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966)
4. Teachers in Negro schools are less able (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
5. The education gap between Negro and white pupils increases from grade to grade (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
6. Negro children coming to desegregated schools are full of fear and anxiety (Anderson, 1966)
7. Scared by insult and social isolation since few whites will befriend them (Anderson, 1966)

8. The burden of prejudice, a disorganized family life, poverty--frequently instilled feelings of inferiority and fatalism in the Negro student (Anderson, 1966)
9. De facto segregation obstructs economic mobility and intensifies class distinction (Clark, 1968)
10. Teachers in Negro urban schools: (Spillane, 1967)
    - a) dissatisfied with teaching
    - b) have to provide social and personal guidance
    - c) parent apathy causes stress and strain
    - d) intellectual stimulation is the greatest area of dissatisfaction
    - e) ambiguity of status

B. Measures to achieve desegregation and/or integration

1. Two-way busing (Kennedy, 1968) (Sullivan, 1968)
2. Compensatory education (Kennedy, 1968) (Pettigrew, 1968) (Sullivan, 1968) (Anderson, 1966)
3. Educational parks (Kennedy, 1968)
4. Teaching of Negro history (Kennedy, 1968)
5. Change in teaching style and racist attitude of teachers (Kennedy, 1968)
6. Special care to avoid distructive side effects of schools where integration means placing children in white environment (Ayers, 1968)
7. Special training for teachers (Anderson, 1966) (Spillane, 1967)
8. More guidance counselors (Anderson, 1966)
9. Alternatives to the public school system (Clark, 1968)

C. Barriers to integration/desegregation or drawbacks of programs

1. Inviolability of the neighborhood school concept (Clark, 1968)
2. Prejudices of school boards, parents and taxpayer groups (Clark, 1968)
3. The Black Power movement (Clark, 1968)
4. Rigidity in public school organization (Clark, 1968)
5. Physical intimidation, economic reprisal against parents, and various other means (Spillane, 1967)
6. Past guidelines have not attempted to end dual school systems (Spillane, 1967)
7. The disadvantaged pupil suffers more in a low quality school (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)

D. Recommendations

1. Mere admission to schools is not enough for social integration (Anderson, 1966) (Sullivan, 1968) (Pettigrew, 1968)
2. Difference between social integration and physical desegregation (Anderson, 1966) (Spillane, 1967) (Pettigrew, 1968)
3. Educators must motivate the children, help plan for future, and encourage them to continue schooling (Anderson, 1966)
4. Negroes should choose institutions with milder racial climates (Anderson, 1966)
5. Teacher quality more important for minority pupil (Department of Health, Education & Welfare, 1966)
6. Future guidelines must be aligned more closely with the law and must be fully enforced (Spillane, 1967)
7. System-wide educational enrichment program (Clark, 1968)
8. Extensive desegregation to provide Negro children with middle class settings (Clark, 1968) (Pettigrew, 1968)
9. Special training for teachers (Spillane, 1967)

22. Counselling the Disadvantaged

A. Purposes

1. Motivation (Rickman, 1968)
2. Provides an opportunity to express deep-seated concerns and to criticize those forces that have deprived them (Rickman, 1968)
3. Remove emotional barriers (Rickman, 1968)
4. Enables participants to become involved in the social process (Rickman, 1968)
5. Provides support and removes fear of reprisal (Rickman, 1968)
6. Reinforces participants' strengths and assets (Rickman, 1968)
7. Increase in rate of placement and personal initiative in looking for work (Williams, 1967)

B. Recommendations

1. For counseling to be effective, counselor must (Johnston & Scales, 1968)
    a) establish rapport with counselee
    b) understand the psychological, social, economic and cultural forces affecting the disadvantaged
    c) examine his own attitudes
2. Various dimensions to counselor's role. He must serve: (Johnston & Scales, 1968)
    a) the students

    - b) the teacher with whom he works
    - c) the parents
    - d) the community as a whole
3. Training of counselor (Johnston & Scales, 1968)
4. Employment service as a referral agency for long-term counselling (Williams, 1967)

23. Montessori and the Disadvantaged

A. Relevant Montessori Concepts

1. Classroom as a prepared environment (Orem, 1967) (Stevens, 1967)
2. Develop favorable attitudes toward work (Orem, 1967)
3. Child learns habits of order and work in an environment that meets his needs (Orem, 1967)
4. Built-in techniques to develop language skills (Orem, 1967)
5. Concerned with the child between ages 3-6 (Stevens, 1967)

B. Purpose

1. Directing human energies into socially meaningful channels (Orem, 1967)
2. Vocabulary expansion (Orem, 1967)
3. Reading programs based on instruction in phonics (Stevens, 1967)
4. Sensory training and perceptual motor skills (Stevens, 1967)

C. Conclusions

1. Most comprehensive model for pre-school children (Orem, 1967)
2. The only organic pedagogical system designed to deal with disadvantaged children (Orem, 1967) (Stevens, 1967)

D. Recommendations

1. Prepared environment should be expanded (Orem, 1967)
2. Link between school and home (Orem, 1967)

24. Delinquency

A. Antecedents of delinquency

1. Lack of affection (Johnson, 1968)
2. Broken homes (Johnson, 1968) (Willie, 1967)
3. Birth order (Johnson, 1968)
4. Failures of parents (Johnson, 1968)
5. Family instability and disorganization (Willie, 1967) (Winslow, 1968)

6. Economic factors--low income, unemployment (Guttentag, 1968) (Johnson, 1968) (Willie, 1967)(Winslow, 1968) (Bordua, 1967) (Polk, 1967)
7. Population mobility (Guttentag, 1968) (Winslow, 1968)
8. Mass media (Johnson, 1968)
9. Poor physical environment (Winslow, 1968)
10. Weak social institutions e.g. school, family (Winslow, 1968)
11. Disadvantaged environment (Willie, 1967)
12. Poverty--non-whites (Willie, 1967) (Winslow, 1968)
13. Social stratification (which permits little mobility to specific groups (Martin, 1966)
14. Lack of high educational aspiration (Winslow, 1968)
15. Racial discrimination (Martin, 1966)
16. Industrial transformation (Guttentag, 1968)
17. Imposition of middle class norms on lower class children (Bordua, 1967) (Martin, 1966)
18. Weak social control (Bordua, 1967)
19. Social disorganization (Bordua, 1967)
20. Inadequate slum schools (Winslow, 1968)
21. Poverty (Guttentag, 1968)
22. Socio-economic and family status (Willie, 1967)

B. Correlates of delinquency

1. School maladjustment (Johnson, 1968)
2. Emotional difficulties (Johnson, 1968)
3. Anomie (Guttentag, 1968)
4. Instability (Guttentag, 1968)
5. Economic status differentials--class (Polk, 1967)

C. Remediating delinquency

1. Detection of deviant behaviors (Johnson, 1968)
2. Observation of classroom behavior (Johnson, 1968)
3. Informal counselling (Johnson, 1968)
4. Socio-economic analysis (Johnson, 1968)
5. Investigation of relationship between economic factors and crime (Guttentag, 1968) (Johnson, 1968) (Bordua, 1967) (Willie, 1967) (Polk, 1967)
6. Social planning with economic planning (Guttentag, 1968)
7. Raising the economic status (Willie, 1967)
8. More money, people and energy (Winslow, 1968)

9. Massive attack on all factors (Winslow, 1968)
10. Study the effect of employment condition on the rate of social change and population mobility (Guttentag, 1968)
11. Longer stay in school (Winslow, 1968)
12. Planned educational upgrading (Winslow, 1968)
13. Study the individual within the social milieu (Martin, 1966)
14. Fundamental social change (Martin, 1966)

E. Characteristics of delinquents

1. Negro/non-white (Martin, 1966) (Willie, 1967)(Winslow, 1968)
2. Concentration in depressed areas (Willie, 1967) (Bordua, 1967) (Winslow, 1968)
3. Lower class (Martin, 1966)

F. Effects or results of delinquency

1. Mental destruction of initiative, productivity, pride, and the sense of social participation
2. Physical--lives forfeited,injuries, loss of property (Winslow, 1968)

25. Riots

A. Causes

1. Race (Jacobs, 1967) (Wright, 1968)
2. Exploitation (Wright, 1968)
3. Denial of group identity and pride (Wright, 1968)
4. Police brutality (Department of Labor, 1968)
5. Poor housing (Jacobs, 1967)
6. Lack of job opportunity (Department of Labor, 1968)
7. Tensions and frustrations (Jacobs, 1967) (Department of Labor, 1968)
8. Social class
9. Ghetto stores (Jacobs, 1967)
10. Poor schools (Jacobs, 1967)
11. Government agencies (Jacobs, 1967)
12. American middle class contempt for the Negro (Jacobs, 1967)
13. Racial isolation inducing (Ranstood, 1968)
    a) powerlessness
    b) dissatisfaction
14. Economic marginality (Rainwater, 1967)

15. Ghettos (Jacobs, 1967) (Rainwater, 1967)
16. Self-image (Rainwater, 1967)
17. Hate of white world and its institutions (Jacobs, 1967)
18. Poor minorities (Jacobs, 1967)
19. Poverty (Rainwater, 1967)

B. Correlates

1. Official indifferences (Jacobs, 1967)
2. Social changes in cities (Wright, 1968)

C. Remedies

1. Status and their ability to achieve equitable power relationships (Wright, 1968)
2. Redefinition of problem of cities (Wright, 1968)
3. Changes in values (Wright, 1968)
4. New approaches to public planning (Wright, 1968)
5. Guided urban social change (Wright, 1968)
6. Initiative by black leadership (Wright, 1968)
7. Communicty action programs (Rainwater, 1967)
8. Income close to American average (Rainwater, 1967)
9. Creation of jobs for the unskilled (Rainwater, 1967)
10. Guaranteed minimum income plan (Rainwater, 1967)
11. Cognisance of life styles, feelings and needs of lower-income persons (Brager & Specht, 1967)
12. Will of the country to change (Jacobs, 1967)

D. Social background of participants

1. Race--Negroes (Wright, 1968) (Jacobs, 1967) (Rainwater, 1967)
2. Unmarried (Department of Labor, 1968)
3. Drop-out (Department of Labor, 1968)
4. Non-veteran (Department of Labor, 1968)
5. Born in the South (Department of Labor, 1968)
6. Blue-collar worker (Department of Labor, 1968)
7. Periodical unemployment (Lachman & Singer, 1968) (Department of Labor, 1968)
8. Total unemployment (Lachman & Singer, 1968)
9. Non-participant in a government program (Department of Labor, 1968)
10. Indebted (Department of Labor, 1968)
11. Lower class

SECTION IV

SUMMATION

At the outset it should be recognized that if sociologists were asked to indicate freely how education might best be reformed, their replies would deal primarily with aspects other than teacher performance. By conviction and convention, sociologists tend to look first towards system components. This is because their concern for the collective character of social phenomena predisposes them to find explanation in the form and function of social systems themselves. Taking an overarching view they would see education as one component in the complexity of components that make up society. They would see it as both influencing that society and being influenced by it. Thus for example, the vocational sorting task of the school might be highlighted (Warner, Havighurst & Loeb, 1944) (Parsons, 1959). Alternatively, the impact of other institutions on the school itself might be stressed, for example, the political institution (Gross, 1958) (Massialas, 1969), the economic institution (Halsey, Floud & Anderson, 1961) (Sexton, 1961), and so on. In a sense then, when asked what might be concluded from sociology about what the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand, we were in fact asking an unreasonable question. The question was unreasonable because it could only really be answered by someone who had a systematic understanding of both sociology and of the educative nature of the teachers' role. Given the fact that there have been remarkably few systematic studies of the teachers' role and that literature on this topic is scant, there are few who are really capable of undertaking the task. In other words, the task of building a bridge between sociology and education is made all the more difficult because of the lack of practised bridge builders. What is really being said here, is that at the moment the field of sociology of education, in which the ideas and methods of sociology would be rigorously applied in the study of the educational institution, is relatively underdeveloped. As a consequence, the practical application of sociological knowledge lags. Because the appropriate research has not been done, it is not possible to predict with confidence the effects of different changes introduced into the education system. For example, because the evidence that the relationships between parent participation and the child's educational improvement is quite equivocal, we do not know the conditions under which parent participation is facilitative and the conditions under which it is not. In a similar fashion, while it is known that many of the Head Start programs failed, we do not know what factors contributed to failure nor even whether some of the programs as they were originally envisaged were actually implemented or, in fact, were organizationally possible.

In the field of teacher action we are similarly ignorant. We do not know for instance, what the consequences of using middle-aged, female, Negro teachers in all Black inner city schools would be. We do not know if and how 'honkeys' can educate Black pupils effectively. We do not know how to maximize teacher satisfaction. We do not know the system effects of teacher unionism. The list is endless.

As a consequence of this substantial amount of ignorance, the attempts at bridge building undertaken here can do little more than erect a framework. Furthermore, it is a framework that relies in large degree on extrapolations to education from other areas. Because these outside sources are, by definition, foreign, there may be occasions when those who are subjectively attuned to education find the extrapolation difficult to accept. Nonetheless, without substantive evidence available from education itself, it seems more reasonable at this point in time to rely on objectively based data from industry, from organisations research, from economics, from politics and from service institutions, and so on. While there is an alternative, namely to rely on apparently plausible intuitions whose only claim to legitimacy is that they were generated sincerely from within education itself, this alternative is not acceptable to us.

With these reservations made, we can now turn to a consideration of the apparent relevance of sociological knowledge and insight for the training of teachers of disadvantaged children. To give system to the presentation, it is necessary first to establish a modus operandi. A model based on a sociological perspective will provide it.

A Perspective

Teacher Settings. Our foundational concern is with the educational life space of the teacher. This means that we need to take into account the kinds of social situations in which she finds herself as she pursues her educational role. Such social situations include a variety of settings. Paramount among these is the classroom. But this setting as Barker and Gump (1964) and Smith and Geoffrey (1965) have illustrated, can be seen as containing an assortment of sub-settings each characterized by patterned behavior and reflecting discernable norms and values. As well, in the course of her day-to-day activities, the teacher frequents other non-classroom settings within the school. She attends staff meetings, visits the Principal's office, interviews parents, supervises cultural and perhaps recreational activities, goes to P.T.A. and participates in teacher association meetings.

Expectations. As a teacher (and as a human being) she comes to each of these settings with certain more or less defined expectations. For example, she expects that in the classroom, pupils will behave in certain ways. She expects the Principal to provide a certain kind of leadership in staff meetings. She expects parents in interview to behave within a certain, relatively limited range of behaviors. Of course, not all teachers have the same expectations but every teacher has her own. These expectations can be conveniently seen as 'getting' and 'giving' expectations. Teachers (and people) expect to get something from participation in any social situation and they expect to give a certain amount in return. This idea of social exchange has a long history that can be traced back as far as ancient Greece. The 17th and 18th century expression of it is characteristically identified with Hobbes and Rousseau, while the contemporary protagonists include Homans (1961), Blau (1964) and, in social psychology, Foa & Foa, 1969)

'Conflict'. However, if teachers approach their educational settings with expectations of what they will both give and get, so do the other participants. Pupils have expectations, so do Principals, so do parents, and so on. Thus in any given social situation, there is the possibility that the expectations held by the differing parties may or may not coincide. Social psychologists have called this lack of consensus (perhaps overdramatically), 'role conflict' (Biddle &

Thomas, 1966). While such 'conflict' may not imply confrontation (in fact the dissensus may not even be perceived by the participants) it is assumed that persistent dissensus of any magnitude will ultimately lead to the break-down of the social system concerned. Break-down of the system may be characterized as; complete abandonment, as anomie (institutionalized apathy, psychological withdrawal), the defection of some participants, or the generation of tension and even ultimately, violence.

Role conflict theory provides a potential, theoretical explanation of some of the currently dysfunctional features of the present education system. For example, the study of the incidence of pupil drop-out should be amenable to its terms. It is patently apparent that drop-outs are resentful of the system, and frequently state without equivocation, that they are getting nothing from it. A similar explanation may be offered to account for teachers quitting the profession. Their expectations for salary, for recognition, for relatively congenial work conditions are not met, so they withdraw.

With such undesirable consequences of dissensus possible, the twin questions arise; how can dissensus be forestalled, and how can it be remedied once it is manifest. The complete answer to such questions is contingent on knowing the character and etiology of expectations held by the parties in conflict. That in turn, is contingent on research that has yet to be done. But even in this condition of insecurity, it does seem as if some expectations that could be held by teachers of disadvantaged children are likely to be functional while others are not. It also seems as if some expectations that could be held about the organisation in which they work--the school--are more functional than others. It follows then that any teacher training program would be advised to give attention to the expectations that it helps to produce in teachers itself. It is within the broad general orientation of role-theory that an attempt will be made to provide a synthesis of some of the more relevant sociological ideas. Accordingly, discussion of expectations comes first.

Expectations and Education

Origins. Given the ubiquity of expectations it is apparent that expectations can be held about a great many aspects of social behavior. For instance, they can be held about clothing, about hair styles, about cleanliness, about language, about courtesy, about morality, about manliness, about industriousness, about friendliness and so on, and so on. Whatever expectation anyone holds however, one thing is sure--it has been socially induced. Our expectations are the result of the socialisation to which we have been exposed. No expectations are due to any innate physical or genetic characteristic. If for example, we are achievement oriented ourselves and consequently expect others to be also, this is not because of any innate or god-given quality that resides in us. There is no basis for claiming intrinsic difference from others who are differently persuaded. We are both--the achievement oriented and the non-achievement oriented--victims of our previous experiences. As we had no part in choosing our parents we can claim no personal virtue for whatever child rearing experiences they provided for us.

If this is the case, when the teacher is confronted with her twin tasks of teaching children and operating within the school organisation it seems reasonable to assume that she would be able to manage better if she were astute at diagnosing both her own and others' expectations. The reason is simple. Where expectations are in conflict, resolution can be achieved in any one of four logically possible ways, namely;

1) by changing expectations of one of the conflicting parties so they become more congruent with the others;
2) by changing the other party's;
3) by changing both;
4) by the complete breakdown of the social system.

If anything other than the last solution is to occur, someone is going to have to know where the conflict lies and what expectations are the 'cause' of it, so that after judicious consideration of the consequences, the change necessary to promote the interests of the system can be initiated. Given the teacher's central role in the educative process it seems reasonable that the teacher should be the

the one to undertake the task.

A Case of Conflict. At this point, for illustrative purposes, a digression seems warranted. In another area of education--educational administration--it seems apparent that university administrators, faced with accusations that Black expectations about education have not been met, have tended to behave variously. Some, acting punitively, have said student expectations must be subservient to those of the administration and that violators must therefore conform or quit. Their assessment of the situation is presumably, that the university has the power to force conformity and that the loss of non-conformists will be insufficient to destroy the system. Other administrations, impressed with student demands, have conceeded unequivocally, thus placing themselves in the position where their own original (and presumably unjustifiable) expectations have to be modified and subjected to re-evaluation. Others have compromised, conceding some things but requiring a quid pro quo. It is too early to estimate the full consequences of the various responses, but the university's problem is not too dissimilar to the problem faced by the ghetto teacher. In many instances ghetto children have found their expectations about school unrealized. Lacking (usually) the power to either diagnose or protest the problem, the only solution open to them is negative and often hostile reaction. What can the teacher do? She has our four earlier mentioned logical alternatives available to her, but how does she choose? As a professional, her choice should be a function of her diagnostic and prognostic skills. She ought to be able to pin-point the problem and she ought to be able to know what consequences will follow from any remediation she attempts.

Training for diagnosis. If diagnostic and prognostic skill is the essence of success under such circumstances, the efficiency of any teacher training program turns on its ability to promote such skill. Its ability to promote such skill depends on the availability of relevant and appropriate source material and relevant and appropriate training procedures.

For the remainder of this presentation an attempt will be made to outline the nature and kind of sociological source material that seems relevant, and the kinds of procedures known to sociology that appear to have similar relevance and appropriateness. The purpose of the outline is to provide a rational basis from which the evolution of a teacher training program might begin. From such a first step could follow later, the more specific planning of ways and means. For instance, the general desiderata expressed here would be capable of re-translation into specific behavioral objectives that would in turn provide the basis for developing curricula, teaching aids, learning programs, simulated situations, computer assisted instruction and the like. Necessarily this would involve sociologists, educationists, curriculum developers and program writers in close collaboration. As we shall see later it would also call for close collaboration with the community so that realistic and relevant experience can be substituted for the esoteric remoteness of conventional training programs.

The starting point for the outline is the teacher trainee herself. On arrival at teachers' college she is a repository of many expectations and of many attitudes. These provide the incipient basis for the formulation of other expectations. We need therefore to look at the focus of these expectations seeing in turn the trainees as members of the community, as members of the social system of the college, as potential (and actual) members of classroom social systems, as members of the teachers' social system and as members of the education social system.

The Trainee as expectation repository

As a member of the community. It is true that definitive statements on the expectations of college entrants are not freely available. It is also true that although such group derived data would be useful, its limitations need to be recognized. We cannot legitimately conclude that because the average performance level of Negro children is below the white average, therefore a new school entrant who is black will be a below average performer. In a similar way, one cannot infer either that because teachers on the average display certain expectations, that any given teacher will necessarily hold them. Group derived data provide little secure basis for predicting to individual behavior. However, if we know what teachers tend to expect, it would be convenient to use this knowledge as a basis for examining the origin and rationality of such expectations. In order to track such information we are forced to make an extrapolation from other data. There is a certain amount of evidence that suggests that teachers are predominantly from middle-class backgrounds. (Warner et al, 1944) (Charters, 1963). There is also evidence to suggest that the middle-class as a whole tends to accept certain norms of behavior and to respect and cherish certain values. As we saw before, these norms and values are socially derived. They also tend to be well internalized. As a consequence of this internalization, individuals often do not appreciate the way in which their behavior reflects the norms and values, nor do they necessarily appreciate that the positiveness of their attitudes towards them are other than rationally based.

It would seem then that the first problem for the trainer of prospective teachers, is to surface this aspect of trainee personality and behavior. Characteristically, Colleges of Education have been loath to do this. Rather have they tended to take the (commonly shared) middle-class values for granted and, go busily about the task of generating further, new, educationally idealistic ones. The consequence of such benign and well intended indoctrination has been the development of philosophically secure (convinced) teachers who, in other than middle-class contexts, are socially and educationally inept. This ineptitude seems associated with the evangelistic, holier-than-thou mien that tends to be characteristic of many 'dedicated' teachers. In such cases it is accompanied by a paternalistic attitude towards those "less fortunate others" who do not (at the moment) demonstrate appropriately WASPISH virtues. The resultant behavior is often condescending, patronizing and intolerant and carries oppressive and judgemental overtones that can only invite and excite resentment. What occurs here is basically a condition of culture clash. The disadvantaged pupils socialised to other norms and other values seek their identity there. The well-intended teacher, seeking to persuade them of the superior virtues of the striving middle-class becomes the catalyst of alienation. If she succeeds with her pupils she alienates them from their parents and homes. If she fails, she alienates them from herself.

However, such a condition is not inevitable given (a) the recognition on the part of the teacher of what the nature of this valuing phenomenon is, (b) the changing of her overt behavior so that her own valued value system does not impede her relationship with her pupils. While the best ways of achieving both of these ends have not been established empirically, it seems reasonable to assume the modification of training systems in certain ways would tend to be facilitative. A discussion of these follows.

Socialisation. In conventional approaches to the study of child development the assumption is usually made that a child, is a child, is a child. There is apparently some universal criterion of development applicable to all children so that any given child can be judged against this criterion or, more correctly, against norms that have been developed for children in general. In this way we come to conclude whether a child is overweight or underweight, tall or short, bright or dull, agile or clumsy and so on. Some of these 'subnormal characteristics' of childhood we attribute to genetic factors, some to biological malfunctions and some to social malfunctions. Conveniently we polarize our interpretations into heredity versus environment and our attitudes towards them into tolerance and intolerance. Hereditary disadvantages are to be condoned--the blind, the mentally deficit, the physically handicapped are to be sympathised with and their condition alleviated. Environmental ones are to be condemned--the socially inept are to be castigated and their condition dismissed. However, in the final analysis, an individual child is no more responsible for the social environment in which he was brought up than he is for the genetic configuration of his parents.

This point which is basic to the reformation of teacher attitudes towards the socially disadvantaged is sometimes difficult to accept. As adults we recognize the part that free will and the responsible exercise of choice plays in our own lives. When we choose wisely we feel virtuous, when we don't, we accept the unpleasant consequences--by and large. So it becomes easy to assume that anyone visited with unpleasant consequences must have exercised unwise choices. Then, comfortably, we can attribute culpability to them. There is superficial justification for such a position too. If some

Negroes can make good, why can't they all. After all, we do have equality of educational opportunity--don't we? The minor inequalities there are, we argue, can be directly associated with the degree of (virtuous) wisdom shown by the community in supporting their schools. So even if the cities have poorer schools with inadequate plant and equipment, poorly qualified teachers and generally educationally undesirable conditions, this is the fault of the lack of community support. And even though it is obvious that community support is a function of the wealth of the community and that poor communities without immense economic sacrifice cannot support their schools more, this is because the members of the community exercised unwise choices with respect to jobs, investment and other economically rewarding activities in the first place.

Choice and opportunity. However, the issue of choice is not as straight forward as such a simple-minded interpretation of the situation would suggest. The ability to make a rational choice (i.e. a choice in which the consequences of selecting each alternative can be predicted accurately) is a function of one's knowledge. This means for instance, that when a child is placed at the choice point where he has to decide between staying at school and dropping out, he has to know in a very real sense, the consequences of the options open to him. At that precise moment he can only call on his own experiences to provide him with a basis for judgement. If his school life has been characterized by failure, by vilification, by boredom, by victimization; or if his home-life is intellectually and academically bereft so that his parents neither wish nor know how to promote the values of education; or if his peers reject the school culture; or if his older siblings are continuously unemployed; or if he is conscious of the extent to which exit from his ghetto is improbable; or if he is not aware of the way his own problems and concerns might be solved and his aspirations and interests gratified; then small wonder indeed that he opts out of the school system. More than this however, at any choice-point the individual has to know the probabilities associated with the options. So if he is say, black, disadvantaged, from a father-absent home, where his mother is on welfare, and he then attempts realistically to assess the probability that people like him can make good in society, he must conclude that the odds against him are too great--and of course, in most cases he's right. Should he however, opt for the hard alternative of continuing his education with the hope for example, of becoming a doctor, then the emotional, social, intellectual and even physical demands placed on him are of immense magnitude. Not only does he have to dissociate from family and friends, he has to run the substantial risk of being unacceptable in the new social setting to which he aspires. Furthermore, his deprived background has meant that he has not become familiar with educationally supportive elements that at least provide marginal pre-socialisation for the task ahead. For example, he hasn't known; a home library with a range of books, or met professional people whose day-to-day dialogue covers a range of cultural, educational and professional matters, or visited many professional and socially relevant environments, and so on.

Contrast such a choice-point condition with the condition in which the middle-class son of a professional family finds himself. The latter has been continuously reinforced for producing the kind of educational and social performance that will lead to his easy access to professional life. He has a realistic basis for assessing the probabilities of success. He knows the kind of demands that will be put on him and he knows the way he has to go. Comparatively speaking his choice is immensely easier to make than is the disadvantaged child's--and this ease of choice, it might be added, is due to no effort of his own.

This somewhat lengthy illustration permits one further point to be made. In a very real sense, if middle class achievement orientation is the educational goal, the education of disadvantaged children has to be different from the education of middle-class children. For middle-class children it becomes a matter of encouraging them to be realistic evaluators of their own condition--to know their capacities and to estimate how best they may employ them in the economically secure world of the middle-class. For lower-class children it becomes a matter of learning to be unrealistic. If they are to achieve, they have to put faith in a cloud-land world somewhere out there--a somewhere that is known (sic) through the distortions of T.V., cinema and transitory, superficial, chance associations. They have to ignore the harsh realities about them, their garbage strewn, delapidated tenements, their anomic, disenchanted and sometimes embittered, siblings, friends and relatives. They have to carry an unrealistic vision that demands of them a degree of self-induced social aphasia that is almost unbelievable.

At this point in the discussion it becomes appropriate to return to a consideration of how the teacher in training can come to gain some awareness of the facts of her own expectational life. This will not be easy because of the human tendency for people to find comfort and identity through assuming that what they themselves are and what they themselves believe, represent both a universal and a desirable human condition. There are therefore two problems to be met. The first is concerned with demonstrating to the trainees that their condition is, in many respects, not a universal human one. The second is concerned with demonstrating that the judgemental game, the valuing game, has certain built-in assumptions that are untenable and certain consequences that are educationally dysfunctional.

Socialisational differences. If the trainees are to become aware of the etiology of their own expectations and as well the legitimacy of value systems other than their own, they need to appreciate how people are socialised into their own culture. This would suggest that in addition to the individual perspective they will have acquired from their conventional courses in child development and psychology, they would also need to become familiar with variations on this apparently universal theme as they are exhibited in different cultural contexts. Presumably the basic point could be made most easily by first introducing evidence from societies that are in stark contrast with the United States. Obviously there are dangers here in that the societies that contrast most with the U.S.A. are either relatively undeveloped (primitive) or ideologically antithetical. In the first case, identification with the primitive society is difficult because of the assumed superiority of ones own culture. In the second it is even more difficult because among the plethora of cultural differences, ideological difference (because of its non-rational, faith basis) is most difficult to accept. In general then, if the contrast is too great there may be the real difficulty that the trainees will see the illustration as only a quaint and exotic special case.

However, if it can be assumed that in the process of planning the curriculum, educationists, sociologists, anthropologists and social psychologists can collaborate to work out the most strategic route to the objective stated earlier, we may proceed here as if the kinds of problems envisaged have in fact been overcome.

America's cultures. The next step would be to extrapolate to pluralistic America. It would be necessary for trainees to come to appreciate--in the fullest sense of the word--that America is multi-cultured. It is multi-cultured not only in the sense that its inhabitants are polyglot with ancestral origins scattered far and wide throughout the world, but multi-cultured also in the sense that present American society can be seen as consisting of a number of sub-societies, some ethnically based, some not. The identification of different sub-cultures would be the next task. This would presumably lead to a consideration of existential, real cultures, like for example, the Flint Michigan community, the Webster Groves, St. Louis, Missouri community and, as well, abstractions like urban communities, suburban communities, rural communities and the like. This would lead presumably to a recognition of the utility of the social class concept and the possibility of using social class as an ancillary dimension in the examination of existential communities. What this means in effect, is that the trainees would need to become aware of some of the ways in which sociologists in particular have found it convenient to classify and study societal systems.

Basic sociology. If one of the objectives held for the trainees is that they come to understand why people behave the way they do, and if the sociological message is that people often behave the way they do because of what they understand social reality to be, and if the sociologists have attempted to describe and explain that reality, then to some extent, the trainees need to know something about sociological procedures. It would seem obvious that the trainees need not become accomplished sociologists but they should appreciate the utility of the sociological perspective. This may amount to no more than an appreciation of key sociological concepts like for example: role, status, norms, values, etc., and some of the principles that have come to be accepted in sociology, for example, multiple 'causality', cultural relativity, etc.

The main purpose behind the procedures advocated so far, is to provide a meaningful lead-in to the issue that most concerns the prospective teachers--the education of disadvantaged, inner city children. The foundational idea is that the trainees have to be able to accept the inner city culture as both real and reasonable. Presumably, the comparative culture approach just discussed, will lead them to accept the possibility that an inner city culture could exist. But what it is like and whether it could be seen to be reasonable or not would remain to be demonstrated. In seeking to provide the demonstration, the curriculum planner runs into the problem of balancing the issue of cause and effect with the presentation of fact. There are many facts of inner city life with which the trainees could become familiar. These facts, in contrast with the facts of suburban life, repeatedly show the inner city to be at disadvantage. If the trainees have not yet accepted the idea of (at least limited) cultural determination, such contrasts will only serve to reinforce their own feelings of superiority. Necessarily then, decisions on what facts to introduce, in what way and when, will be contingent on the students' demonstrated sensitivity to the idea of cultural relativity. On the assumption that such a task of pedagogical diagnosis would be undertaken, it is appropriate here, for illustrative purposes, to give a brief review of a representative sample of some of the facts of disadvantaged life. The qualification just made about the optimum time in a training program for their presentation needs to be kept in mind.

Facts of Disadvantage

General environmental conditions. Two criteria are basic to the delineation of the urban disadvantaged. The disadvantaged live in the inner city--often in slum conditions--and they are poor. However, as Gottlieb & Ramsay (1967, point out, a more precise definition results when a constellation of variables is taken into account. The five 'co-related status variables' that they enumerate are: educational attainment; employment and income; social prestige and power; authority; and living level. These operating together confirm (in both senses of the word) the condition of disadvantage. They provide tangible evidence that enables disadvantage to be identified and labelled by others, and they ensure that the path out of disadvantage is difficult to find and hard to travel.

The reason why the disadvantaged stay disadvantaged lies partly in the very efficient way in which they have successfully accommodated to their deprived environment:

> "Just as the members of the higher skilled working class and of management act in response to their culture, to their system of social and economic rewards, so do the underprivileged workers act in accord with their culture. The habits of 'shiftlessness', 'irresponsibility', 'lack of ambition', absenteeism, and of quitting the job, which management usually regards as a result of the 'innate' perversity of underprivileged white and Negro workers, are in fact normal responses that the worker has learned from his physical and social environment. These habits constitute a system of behavior and attitudes which are realistic and rational in that environment in which the individual of the slums has lived and in which he has been trained."
>
> (Davis, 1946)

This environment to which the urban dweller has adapted, is distinctive in a number of ways. There the rate of population increase is greater than the over-all national rate. This is due both to the city-wards migration of country dwellers (particularly Negroes) and the higher birthrate prevailing in lower socio-economic groups. The resultant population saturation has a number of consequences. Job opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled workers who constitute the bulk of the disadvantaged populace are at a premium (Manpower Reports to the President, 1968). Furthermore, despite a parallel migration of white collar workers from the city, housing is difficult to obtain, is usually sub-standard (American Federationist, 1967) and expensive (Lewis, 1968). Invariably, population density within dwelling units is also high (Podell, 1967) with the result that living conditions are also often sub-standard. Squalor prevails (Carmichael, 1967). In one New York survey a third of the buildings holding welfare people were found to be infested with rats and the halls littered with garbage (Podell, 1967). Ghettos (the current euphemism for ethnic slums) are characterised by economic underdevelopment, cultural deprivation, high infant mortality, high T.B. rates, inferior educational facilities and unemployment (Winslow, 1968) (Hill, n.d.)

The employment issue is a vexed one both for the disadvantaged themselves and those who have been concerned with alleviating disadvantage. Poverty in our society is frequently seen as a function of employment. Capability for employment has often been cited as the cause of disadvantage and has been advocated as the right focus for remediation. The facts show that unemployment is concentrated in cities in general (Bienstock, 1968) (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) and in slums in particular (Manpower Report to the President, 1968). Necessarily, unemployment results from the juxtaposition of interrelated conditions--a limited demand for the type of labor available and an abundance of that type of labor. The logical remedies for state of affairs are also twofold. They are; (i) the creation of more unskilled and semi-skilled jobs (Fogel) (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) to accommodate the available labor supply, and (ii) the reforming of the labor supply (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967) (Via, 1968) so that it comes to possess marketable attributes. This latter is likely to be easier said than done because of the composition of the unemployed population. Data show that both ends of the age scale are overly represented amongst the unemployed. Teenagers or relatively young adults constitute a major class (Bienstock, 1968) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967). So do the aged (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967). Among the young, many are school dropouts (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967) and the general education level is low (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) (Bienstock, 1968) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967) (Fogel). In addition, partly because of a measure of family instability and partly because of the ineligibility of lower class males for draft deferment, a disproportionate proportion of disadvantaged families have female heads (Manpower Report to the President, 1968) (U.S. Department of Labor, 1967). It is estimated that about 25% are headed by females (40% in non-white families) and 20% are headed by the aged (Somers, 1967). Other findings report a similar state of affairs. In one study of families on welfare more than 40% were found to be without resident spouses, while 25% of mothers were living without their husbands (Podell, 1967). Another report revealed that of the welfare families investigated, 56% had children at school, that mothers were the only adults in most families and that fathers were present in less than 30% of cases (Podell, 1968). These facts place a great proportion of the disadvantaged outside the range of help offered by employment programs. It should be noted that unemployment is more often better regarded as underemployment rather than chronic non-employment. Poverty families are usually headed by a full time worker whose wages are too low to support the family (Somers, 1967), or by a worker whose employment is irregular (Bernstein, 1967). As well, wives often work (Lewis, 1968). One investigation reported that 50% of wives and mothers were employed outside the home (Smitson, 1967). Predictably, indebtedness is prevalent (Meyer, 1963). However, the composition of welfare assisted people is subject to a measure of change. The New York study found that 8% of those studied in 1966 were not on welfare in 1967 and that if there were fathers in the household (especially white), there was a greater likelihood of graduation out of welfare (Podell, 1968). One consistent characteristic of poverty is apparent--the larger the family the larger the poverty risk for children.

The slum environment has been held responsible for coercing the attitude beliefs and values of its inhabitants. It is also clearly acknowledged to be the lowest status environment in the society. These two factors in combination have sometimes provoked the social concern of the recorder. For example, the slum has been referred to as an 'airtight cage' where people are 'crippled in mind and spirit' (Lyford, 1966). The slum environment has been seen as 'hostile and destructive'(Ryan, 1966), a place where there is little sense of belonging (Lyford, 1966) and whence there is little hope of 'escape'. Subjective overtones are less apparent in the position taken by Fried & Levin (1965). They warn both that distinction should be made between types of poor housing areas and that stable, family-based working class slums include a population many times the size of skid row areas. In their report they also list 'functions' that the slums were seen to serve, viz.

(i) as a real labor market, for low status workers,

(ii) as a transitional community half-way between the pre-industrial society of the rural worker and modern industrial society,

(iii) as a transitional community that provides inhabitants with opportunity for adaptation to the complex demands of a challenging environment by providing social psychological security and temporary release from the pressures of the complex outside world.

Stein (1968a & b) in a field study of a Boston slum reinforces the Fried-Levin points. He identified three characteristic types of inhabitants; (1) families maintaining a minimum middle-class front, (2) downwardly mobiles affected by alcoholism, extreme poverty, isolation, ethnic discrimination, or a combination of these, and (3) disorganised families who maintain a facade of middle-class respectability which fractures when crisis strikes. For the latter group, the slum provides an asylum because it minimises the consequences of inadequate psychotic development. Williams's study (1967) of a Cleveland ghetto confirms the transitional nature of the ghetto. Working from census data, he found that between 1960 and 1965 a number of Negroes had moved up to more affluent situations. However, he also found that in the same period, the gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' had increased partly because of deterioration of conditions in the worst part of the ghetto--the crisis ghetto--which had become a hard-core poverty environment. While the actual population of the crisis ghetto had declined by about 20% nonetheless, for the inhabitant once inside, the chances of remaining and the deleterious consequences of remaining were greater than in other city locations.

The ghetto dweller's involvement in and commitment to society is distinctive. By middle-class standards he has limited participation in society (Chilman, 1967) in that he is isolated from formal community associations (Smitson, 1967) (Lundenfeld, 1968) (Hunter, 1964). But as Jeffers (1967) points out, there is extensive inter-neighborhood communication among inner city inhabitants. In the earlier mentioned New York study; seven in ten had relatives in New York; nearly half had them in the same neighborhood; seven in ten had neighbors who helped in times of illness; six in ten had mutual child care arrangements; and over half had someone to turn to in trouble (Podell, 1963). Another study also showed that families with the lowest and most irregular incomes developed extensive adaptive networks of communication to facilitate the exchange of goods and services (Jeffers, 1967). Understandably, the more familistic the neighborhood, the greater the involvement in it (Lundenfeld, 1968), but surprisingly there was considerable mobility into and out of the inner city (Podell, 1968). However, such interaction is apparently insufficient to develop a sense of community (Lyford, 1966). This may be attributable to the lack of group participation (Samuelson, 1967) and the characteristically unstable character of interpersonal relationships that prevail in ghettos (Geisner & La Sorte, 1964). The resultant lack of a sense of belonging is associated with extreme loneliness (Jeffers, 1967) and at times with withdrawal (Cohen, 1964).

However, such a state of affairs need not be completely attributable to inner city living. Lundenfeld records: (i) that although the inner city cannot be satisfactorily regarded as a community, the suburban community is one of limited liability; (ii) that few people,suburban or not, have interest or involvement in the life of the polis, (iii)that the bureaucratic nature of formal government precludes individual participation and (iv) that the democratic ideology is not manifested in social behavior--or in other words that democratic social processes are relatively rare in the 'real' world of suburbia.

It is not the purpose of the present discussion to present a treatise on the social conditions of inner city living. The brief limited outline of some facts of life just presented, was used for illustrative purposes only. For the training program, careful selection and elaboration of material well beyond this limited example would be necessary. At the present point in the discussion it is now appropriate to return to the teacher in training.

Effects of cultural insensitivity. Somewhat earlier the point was made that in order to become attuned to the idea of cultural relativity, the teacher trainees would need to become aware of the dysfunctional consequences of not doing so.

There are two ways in which the disregarding of cultural relativity will militate against the educational performance of disadvantaged children. First, it may contribute to the child's failure to learn, and second, it may contribute to the development of negative attitudes. Both of these are discussed below.

Learning failure. The educative process can be conveniently seen as a transaction between three basic components; the teacher, the pupil and the curriculum (Adams, 1969). In brief, the teacher's task is to change the undesired (uneducated) condition of the pupil so that it comes to approximate the desired (educated) condition reflected by the curriculum. Whether the teacher will succeed or not depends on her skill in diagnosing the initial condition of the pupil, her understanding of the desired result, and her knowledge of the means appropriate for mediating between the two. It follows then that if the initial diagnosis is faulty then the process will fail. Teachers who are unaware of the cultural realities that lie behind the manifested behavior of her pupils are likely to diagnose incorrectly. For example, a teacher not familiar with the Mexican norm that requires children to speak quietly and deferentially to adults may well interpret as disobedience their failure to 'speak-out' in response to her urgings. Similarly, when Negro children respectfully look away while talking to an adult, any attempt to get them to 'face-up' requires them to behave disrespectfully and aggressively. A more specifically educationally-relevant illustration is to be found in non-standard Negro English. Linguists are now largely persuaded that Negro English has many distinctive features that are functional within the Negro non-standard English language community. In other words, some language features of non-standard Negro English are exclusive to a sub-set of the population (Adams, Sobin & Lockerman, 1969). Non-standard Negro English has been subjected to intensive study, especially at the Center for Applied Linguistics at Washington. Loflin (1966) (whose views are not completely shared by all linguists) claims that deep structural differences between Negro non-standard English and standard American English are discernable and that there is some justification for talking of aspects of Black language, as if they were 'foreign'. One implication that follows from this position is that the teacher who is unaware of such differences may be guilty of assuming that the Negro child is speaking incorrect English when in fact this is not the case. The child is speaking a systematic, rule-based language that is entirely functional in his own environment. Perhaps it may throw light on the point at issue to make a parallel between English English and American English. It is apparent that the two are often different phonologically (the sounds are different), sometimes different semantically (word meanings are different) and very occasionally, different syntactically (structures are different). The uninitiated Englishman is somewhat prone to hold up his hands in horror at what the Americans do to the 'Queen's English'. Similarly, naive American visitors to Britain exclaim, sometimes stridently, on how the natives, "talk funny". Both languages are, of course, legitimate in their own social contexts.

Negative attitudes. Language provides a convenient point at which to consider the attitudinally detrimental effects of failing to recognize cultural relativity. One of the structures that appears to be unique to non-standard Negro English is the use of forms like "he sick" and "he be sick" under circumstances when a standard speaker would use "he is sick". In fact the meanings are different in that "he sick" has a built-in indicator of permanency while "he be sick" has a built-in indicator of impermanency. A teacher unfamiliar with such facts of language life, may see this legitimate Negro usage as error. However, because the rule basis of the language behavior will have become well internalized by the time her pupils are six years old, the so-called 'error' behavior will persist. This state of affairs will give little satisfaction to the teacher--who appears to be failing--or to the children who will increasingly become targets of her displeasure. The resulting ill-will generated, will do nothing to promote the children's interest in continuing education or the teacher's in continuing teaching. Multiply this instance a thousand times as performances other than language ones are included and soon life in urban classrooms becomes the dreary business we know it usually to be.

It is not a uniquely sociological insight that failure breeds failure and success breeds success. However, it is apparent that in the urban classroom failure, negative sanctioning and vilification feature much more prominently than they do in suburban ones. In so far as the teacher's lack of appreciation of cultural relativity and of expectational conflict both contribute to this condition, no one, teacher or pupil, profits.

The Trainee as an Expectation Repository.

As a member of an educational organisation. Educational organisations have not excited the interests of organisation researchers in the same way that industrial and, to a lesser extent, medical ones have. There still remain only three studies of the school that are regarded as foundational, viz. Waller (1932), Coleman (1961) and Gordon (1957), although there has been a mild upsurge in investigations into organisational climate stemming from Halpin & Croft's (1963) work. Nevertheless, Bidwell's statement (1965) that a major study of the school as an organisation remains to be done, is as substantially true to-day as it was then. As a consequence we are generally ignorant of the school as an organisation and therefore overly reliant on what many writers have said it ought to be.

It is therefore tempting to extrapolate to education from the more developed field of industrial research. The terminology sometimes seems to apply. For instance, the school manifests many of the characteristics of formal bureaucracy (Weber, 1968) and, if Lane, Corwin & Monahan (1967) are correct, a number of 'informal' ones as well. However, a certain amount of caution needs to be exercised over too ready a transfer of ideas from outside fields. As Rhea(1963) has argued, there are significant differences between 'people processing' organisations and 'thing processing' organisations.

Organisation men. Irrespective of the facts of the matter however, teachers within educational organisations are caught in the complexities that constitute it and sustain it. There are two logically alternative forms of behavior open to them. They can either conform to organisational demands and become 'establishment men' or they can reject them and become 'mavericks'! Neither alternative is completely satisfactory because both imply irrational positions. The one sacrifices individuality in the name of the organisation. The other sacrifices the organisation in the name of individuality. Given the educational enterprises' reliance on a balancing of individual and organisational interests, when radical right or radical left postures are adopted it is obvious that it is the enterprise that suffers.

It is a notable fact of late 20th century life, that individuals have immense difficulty in seeing themselves as both being complemented by their environment and, in turn complementing it themselves. There is some indication that this is being changed as dramatic deterioration in the physical environment makes the lesson obvious. It still remains an open question however, whether or not the parallel lesson will be appreciated that individuals are also partners in a social environment that is equally subject to pollution and induced decay. However, it does seem reasonable to suggest that teachers can begin to appreciate the point and modify their own behavior accordingly.

In both the classroom and school social environment, the teacher has considerable manipulative power over the social system. How she exercises it will help determine whether it becomes a depressed area or a redevelopment site. However, to operate efficiently she must be aware of some of the characteristics of social systems. To this end concepts like 'norms', 'sanctions', 'values','communication networks' reference groups, power, etc. are relevant. What she needs is the ability to analyse the social systems in which she operates so that she can both understand what is transpiring and, where necessary, go about inducing change effectiviely. Further than this, if she has learned safe techniques for survival in complex organisations, she should at least be able to convey something of her knowledge to her pupils. After all it is patently apparent that disadvantaged children have some large scale system-odds loaded against them. On the grounds of statistical probability alone, many of them are not going to be able to break-out of the ghetto. The majority are likely to remain in the low income brackets,forced to bear the economic and social disadvantages that are persistantly in attendance. However, because the possibility of 'escape' increases with facility in manipulating and adapting to complex social environments--in other words, by being able to operate within the system--it is the teacher's task to promote such a skill. Her dilemma however, is to avoid destroying those who, because of the odds, will not be able to make it. This delicate task of social interpretation requires insights and abilities that so far, few teachers demonstrate. This is because it is difficult to avoid seeing the problem as one of social injustice. In a country committed to the idea of "liberty and justice for all" it is apparent that the twin accidents of birth and territory, act differentially to favor some and put others at disadvantage. Furthermore, the social change necessary to revoke this situation is of a magnitude we find difficult to appreciate. The teacher thus has to avoid the twin evils; fomenting futile protest or inducing apathetic resignation.

This suggests that the teacher of disadvantaged children needs some introduction to group dynamics and some introduction to organisational research and theory also. These would provide her with the means of both functioning more efficiently herself, and of helping her pupils to an appreciation of some of the more invisible facts of life in societies--large and small.

Parental Contacts. If parents influence children and if teachers influence children then it seems obvious that they should, from time to time, get together. However, when the school is seen by parents as an alien, unfriendly and unhelpful bastion of the establishment, communication between parent and teacher becomes extremely difficult. In recent years, efforts at gaining community involvement in education have attempted to remedy this situation. The success of such attempts stand or fall on the proficiency teachers can demonstrate in dealing with the delicate social issues involved. It would seem apparent then that teachers need special training for this aspect of the job as well. Skill in dealing with parents at school and more likely, in the homes of their children is, like most other skills, susceptable to training and education. Necessarily the kinds of awareness discussed earlier are likely to be very relevant to the problems that ensue.

Discussion

It has not been the purpose of this presentation to outline in detail the procedures and processes that need to be developed to give substance to a training program for teachers of disadvantaged children. The principal concern has been to establish a plausible, rational basis from which such detailed planning might proceed. This first step then would be followed by the drawing up of behavioral objectives that were consistent with the general proposals made. These would specify what experiences the trainees had to have, and what behavioral outcomes would be required. Perhaps it should also be emphasized at this point, that the reason for initiating such a training program at all is so that teacher behavior can be modified in such a way that the behavior becomes educationally functional. To this end any emphasis placed on "understanding", "appreciation" and "attitude" is quite incidental. It is valuable only in so far as it contributes to behavior. This rather hard-nosed sociological point of view probably contrasts quite markedly with some psychological orientations that would require emphasis to be put on attitudes and feelings. However, as the sociologists in the consortium pointed out, it is both unreasonable and unrealistic to evaluate teachers (and students) on their "state of heart". What a person feels is, they thought, of no necessary consequence to others if his behavior is socially and educationally functional. It would be an objective of the program to produce such socially and educationally functional behavior.

In order to specify this behavior it would be necessary for educationists and sociologists to collaborate. From the dialogue between them, would emerge an analysis of the kinds of settings to which teachers would be exposed and the kinds of situations likely to develop there. From this analysis would be derived general principles of alternate, "appropriate" behaviours so that the trainee eventually schooled in them would have an extensive repertoire of choices. In turn the development of both the repertoire and the power to apply general principles to specific instances would depend on the kind of training undertaken. It seems reasonable to assume that the more realistically oriented this training was, the better. To this end, the curriculum would include "real-life" experiences, for example, in ghettos, with those who live and work there. The nature and extent of such experiences and the prior socialisation necessary would again become part of the task for the planners. Similarly the planners, if they wished to be contemporary rather than traditional, would make use of modern educational aids--computer assisted learning, simulated situations, and other programmed learning devices, etc. An essential part of the program too would be the provision for teaching experience in ghetto schools. Presumably this would be carefully planned with the ground appropriately prepared so that the role confusion often experienced by trainees in schools would be minimised. To this end the cooperating teachers and principals would become part of the program initially concerned with the task of training the new recruits to the profession. This would be in marked distinction from the characteristically denigratory (and unprofessional) attitudes adopted by practicing teachers when they make first contact with the juvenile novitiates from the alien world of the College of Education.

In one sense this presentation has carried a simple message--it has argued that basing a training program on the kinds of activities that occupy a teacher's life space would be a reasonable thing to do. It has also asked however, what is it really like out there in the world of teaching. Surprisingly, this question has been a very uncommon one in education. Remarkably few studies have attempted to describe the real teaching world and substantially few have attempted to investigate various ways of dealing with it. As a consequence, traditional training programs have increasingly been forced to rely on asserting what teaching 'ought to be like'. Such exhortation has, of course, been bolstered by recourse to authoritative works in psychology, child development and learning but, it must be added, seldom those derived from classroom field conditions.

The argument has also gone beyond the conventional view of teaching which sees it as a learner-bound phenomenon. It has also recognized the organisational character of the teaching vocation so that the teacher as classroom organiser within a larger, complex organisation is taken into account also.

While such perspectives are limited--as are all perspectives--the fact that they remain relatively underdeveloped in most colleges of education and that most colleges of education have done a poor job of producing teachers capable of functioning efficiently and effectively with disadvantaged children, may provoke thought. However, not even the sociological perspective can be expected to provide a universal palliative for the ills of disadvantaged education--for the simple reason that not all disadvantaged ills are to be diagnosed in sociological terms. What the sociological perspective does point up however, is the essential and essentially systemic nature of social interaction. It thus provides a broader and hopefully more fruitful field of vision.

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